

*The*  
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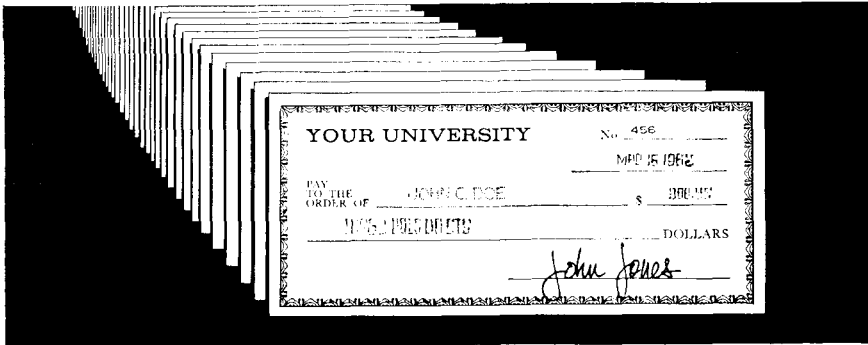
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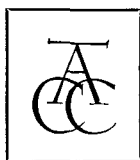
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## The Meaning of "Discovery" in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries

WILCOMB E. WASHBURN\*

"COLUMBUS discovered America." Seemingly this statement, learned by every schoolboy, leaves no room for doubt as to its validity. Yet, examined critically, the statement can immediately be challenged and has been. What do we mean by "America"? The Mexican historian, Edmundo O'Gorman, has written books to uphold the thesis that Columbus did not discover America, because the concept as we know it today did not exist in his mind. Amerigo Vespucci should gain the credit, in O'Gorman's mind, since he allegedly first thought of the newly discovered lands as separate and distinct from Asia, and as forming a new continent, a concept which Columbus, a firm believer in the Asiatic concept, could never accept. Others would challenge the word "discover." The Norsemen discovered America, they will

\* Mr. Washburn, curator of the Division of Political History, Smithsonian Institution, prepared this paper for delivery before the Society for the History of Discoveries, Washington, D. C., December 28, 1961.

point out, or they may say that an unknown pilot told Columbus beforehand of the lands he later discovered. The least controversial word in the sentence is the name "Columbus." All agree that there was such a man, although we are treated to all the racial varieties when it comes to determining whether he was Italian, or Spanish, or Jewish, or Greek.

Why is there such confusion on such a simple subject? Perhaps, because the event was such an extraordinary one, the epistemological problem is fundamental. If so, then it behooves all writers on the subject to start from the beginning with a careful analysis of the terms of the debate and proceed from that point to the events themselves. This is what I propose to do in this essay. I do not hope to exhaust the possibilities of the subject. It is too vast. Hence my essay is suggestive rather than comprehensive. It ventures a series of hypotheses rather than expounds a point of view. I hope it will suggest further study of the problem by specialists in the cartographic, linguistic, literary, nautical, and historical fields. Perhaps such research will reveal elementary aspects of the problem, which I have overlooked. Perhaps it will show new approaches which I have not followed.

My concern with the subject derives from a personal feeling of uncertainty as to just what was meant by the early writers when they used terms like "terra firma," "discover," "new world," "Asia," "continent," and all the other phrases that blossomed forth in the Age of Discovery. We look at these phrases with the backward vision of those who know what the globe actually looks like, but has not this subsequent knowledge screened rather than illuminated our view of the mental situation in which the early explorers found themselves?

Not the smallest stumbling block to our understanding has been the development of a geographical organization of the world's land masses into "continents." The geographers of the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries never fully agreed on what should be called a continent and what an island or peninsula, but they did give prominence to the word "continent" that it never had before. The European peninsula was given continental status (surely from ethnocentric pride as well as from the traditional classification of Europe as one "part" of the world) as were the attached land masses of Asia and Africa, and the detached but connected land masses of North and South America. Australia was sometimes admitted to the inner circle, sometimes not. No geographer ever had enough authority to say without fear of contradiction that Australia's coastline was large enough to be a continent or small enough to be an island.



If one examines the earlier conception of continental status, one finds that medieval geographers and thinkers were blessedly free of this "scientific" category. Immersed in their dark ignorance, they tended merely to contrast land with sea, zone with zone, part with part, West with East, the known world with the unknown.<sup>1</sup> Those who did organize the world on maps normally saw a central land mass, an *orbis terrarum*, surrounded by an enveloping water mass. The various inlets into this land mass, such as the Mediterranean and Baltic, were not understood to have created the present category of "continents" for the lands they washed.<sup>2</sup>

I leave for others the task of explaining the long history of the Latin word "continens." But, even as used in the early postdiscovery years the word, I believe, refers to continuing, connected land, extensive, not insular, but not necessarily to our several twentieth-century continents, although it was used to describe lands within the central *orbis terrarum*.<sup>3</sup>

The concept of the globe divided into "parts" rather than into "continents" is expressed in most geographical studies of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. It is used, for example, in Martin Waldseemüller's famous *Cosmographiae Introductio* of 1507, in a passage which is traditionally conceived of as laying the basis for a new continent, distinct from Asia, to be called America, after Amerigo Vespucci whose travel account Waldseemüller reprinted in the volume. But while the maps accompanying the text seem to suggest a new hemisphere and a new continent (although in one case they separate North and South America and in another not), actually the western extension of the "new world" is problematical and undefined, and the text speaks of the lands described by Vespucci as a fourth "part" of the world which it specifically terms an "island."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See, e.g., Zachary Lilio, *Orbis brevium* (Florence, 1493), *passim*; for a general treatment of the subject, see George H. T. Kimble, *Geography in the Middle Ages* (London, 1938), *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> Bartolomé de las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, ed. Augustín Millares Carlo with a preliminary essay by Lewis Hanke (México, D.F., 1951), Bk. I, Chap. vi (I, 39-45); see also "Columbus and the World Map," in *Select Documents Illustrating the Four Voyages of Columbus*, II, *The Third and Fourth Voyages*, ed. E. G. R. Taylor (London, 1933), lxxvi-lxxxiv.

<sup>3</sup> For examples of the use of "continent" in the early discovery years, see the volumes published by the Reale Commissione Colombiana, *Raccolta di documenti e studi* (14 vols., Rome, 1892-96), e.g., pt. 3, II, 76-77, 83, 84 (for the year 1494). E. G. R. Taylor gives a brief description of the term "continent" in her essay cited in note 2, lxxix. See also such dictionaries as Balbus de Janua, *Catholicon* (various fifteenth-century editions), s.v. "contineo"; Elio Antonio de Nebrija, *Vocabulario Español-Latino* (Salamanca, 1495?), reproduced in facsimile (Madrid, 1951), s.v. "Tierra firme," which is translated as "continens"; [Robert Estienne], *Thesauri Linguae Latinae* (Leyden, 1573), s.v. "continens."

<sup>4</sup> [Martin Waldseemüller], *Cosmographiae Introductio: Cum quibusdam geometriae ac astronomiae principiis ad eam rem necessariis* (Mainz, 1507), Chap. ix. Two sentences after naming the "quarta pars" discovered by Amerigo Vespucci "America," Waldseemüller writes: "Hunc in modum terra iam quadripartita cognoscitur: et sunt tres primae partes continentes / quarta est insula: cum omni quaque mari circumdata conspiciatur." Almost identical language is used

It is, therefore, not a little disturbing to hear repeated over and over again the claim that Vespucci discovered, and Waldseemüller gave his blessing to, a fourth "continent," particularly when all reference to the specific word "island" is omitted, and the word "part" is admitted only as a synonym of "continent."<sup>5</sup>

May it not well be that the later creation of artificial geographical distinctions more rigid than those used in earlier times (for example, "continent" instead of "part") encouraged later historians such as Roberto Levillier, Henry Vignaud, and Edmundo O'Gorman to conceive of the Age of Discovery in new and rigid terms? Is not the French historian Marcel Bataillon right when he says that the "problem" which O'Gorman sees in the Age of Discovery is a problem which is O'Gorman's own personal problem, not necessarily that of one who wants to see the period in terms of what happened at the time, rather than in terms of what was conceived about it later?<sup>6</sup>

Most fascinating of all the special terms associated with the history of discoveries is the Latin "terra firma" and its various Romance equivalents such as "terra firme" in Portuguese and "tierra firme" in Spanish. As used in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the term is found in both singular and plural form, with and without the definite article, capitalized and uncapitalized, hyphenated and unhyphenated. It is normally translated as "continent" or "mainland." I think the meaning more complex etymologically and less extensive geographically than we are accustomed to think, and in the following paragraphs I will suggest some of the varied significance I find in the term.

The term "terra ferma" appears in Italian portolanos of the fifteenth cen-

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by Petrus Apianus in his *Cosmographiae Introductio* (Venice, 1533), Chap. xiv. Later (in Chap. xvii) Apianus defines "insula," "Peninsula," "Isthmus," and "continens," citing "America" as an example of an island, and Saxony, Bohemia, and other compact inland areas which are neither islands, peninsulas, nor isthmuses, to illustrate the meaning of "continens." By the latter part of the century the terms and conceptions had undergone a shift, and François de Belle-forest, in his *La Cosmographie universelle de tout le monde* (2 vols., Paris, 1575), a revision and enlargement of Sebastian Münster's work of the same title (first Latin ed., Basle, 1550), chides Münster and earlier writers for slighting the discoveries across the Atlantic in their geographical division of the world. (Belle-forest, *Cosmographie universelle*, I, 26-27, 64; II, 2036.)

<sup>5</sup> Roberto Levillier, "La Justicia del Bautismo de América (1507-1957)," *Revista de Historia de América*, No. 45 (June 1958), 107-108. Like other Columbian scholars, Levillier has been riding his pet hobbyhorse for a long time. His *América la bien llamada* (Buenos Aires, 1948) is the fullest statement of his Vespuccian thesis.

<sup>6</sup> Marcel Bataillon and Edmundo O'Gorman, *Dos concepciones de la tarea histórica, con motivo de la idea del descubrimiento de América* (México, D.F., 1955), 96, 98. Bataillon's essay was originally published under the title "L'idée de la découverte de l'Amérique chez les Espagnols du xvi siècle," *Bulletin Hispanique*, LV (No. 1, 1953), 23-55.

tury primarily as a means of contrasting the islands off the coast of the European and African land masses with the "main land" itself. The phrase seems designed to contrast the main shore- or coast-land with the minor offshore lands, whether islands or mere sand bars. The phrase seems designed for the practical Mediterranean sailor, as were the portolanos in which the term appears, and does not, in my opinion, express a geographical conception of the continental land mass of Europe, Asia, and Africa, whether viewed as separate continents or as a single continent.<sup>7</sup>

The term appears in Portuguese in the letters patent of July 24, 1486, given by King John II to Fernão Dulmo to discover the fabulous island of the Seven Cities, normally called Antillia. Antillia is drawn on numerous maps of the period as a comparatively large but obviously insular block of land in the Western Ocean. Indeed, the term Antilles, used by the Portuguese to denote certain West Indian islands, remains a memorial to the belief that the island did exist and was discovered by Columbus. The most significant aspect of the letters patent, however, is the description which is given of this "gramde ylha ou ylhas ou terra firme per costa, que se presume seer a ylha das Sete Çidades" that Dulmo was to attempt to discover at his own cost. The phrase "ylha ou ylhas ou terra firme" continues to be used throughout the document, changing at one point to "as ditas ylhas e terra."<sup>8</sup>

Do we not have here evidence of the term "terra firme" used before the Age of Discovery in a way that is consistent with an insular land mass? If otherwise, does it not require the island of the Seven Cities to be equated with the great tripartite land mass of the *orbis terrarum* or else with an entirely new "continent"?<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> See the inscriptions on the mid-fifteenth-century Portolan Parma-Magliabecchi, transcribed in Konrad Kretschmer, *Die italienischen Portolane des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1909), secs. 12, 18, 83, 202. I am indebted to Henry Kahane, professor of Spanish and general linguistics at the University of Illinois, for this reference. Note also the infrequent use of the term "terra firma" in the Book of Ser Marco Polo and its particular use in describing the relationship between the island of Ceylon and the neighboring Maabar coast. See, e.g., the Latin edition published in Antwerp in 1485 (Bk. III, Chap. xxiii). The complexity of manuscript and published sources for Marco Polo's book makes detailed study a necessity, but I think it is clear that the usage follows the meaning suggested in this paper. For an additional use of the term employed in a restrictive way, see "A Fifteenth Century Military Map of the Venetian Territory of *Terraferma*," *Imago Mundi*, XII (1955), 55-57.

<sup>8</sup> Academia das sciencias, *Alguns documentos do Archivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo acerca das navegações e conquistas portuguesas* (Lisbon, 1892), 58-59. Henry Vignaud, *Histoire critique de la grande entreprise de Christophe Colomb* (2 vols., Paris, 1911), II, 419, 422-23, discusses this document and translates the phrase "per costa" as "par delà nos côtes." See also the similar grant of Aug. 4, 1486, *Alguns documentos*, 61-63.

<sup>9</sup> Post-Columbian maps occasionally show Antillia or the island of the Seven Cities on the newly discovered mainland. See, for example, the world map of about 1508 attributed to Vesconte Maggioli of Genoa, fig. 39 of R. A. Skelton, *Explorers' Maps: Chapters in the Cartographic Record of Geographical Discovery* (New York, 1958). A possible equivalence between the Isle of Brasil, another mythical island, and "tierra firme" is recorded in the John Day letter reported on by L. A. Vigneras, "New Light on the 1497 Cabot Voyage to America," *Hispanic*

Perhaps the rarest form of the phrase is the plural form which, nevertheless, is one of the earliest. It appears in the Capitulations made with Columbus by Ferdinand and Isabella on April 17, 1492. In this agreement, Columbus is granted hereditary rights in "todas aquellas islas é tierras-firmes" that he may discover and gain in the "mares Océanas" claimed by the sovereigns.<sup>10</sup> The form reappears occasionally, particularly in various claims of Columbus, such as his Majorat or Entail of His Estates and Titles, February 22, 1498.<sup>11</sup> Nevertheless, in the Title issued two weeks after the Capitulations, on April 30, and covering the same ground, the plural phraseology is reduced to the singular, and Columbus is granted rights to "ciertas Islas, é Tierra-firme en la mar Océana" which he may discover and gain.<sup>12</sup> Is the change of any significance? Is the meaning the same? Are there stylistic conventions which explain the alteration?

In Alexander VI's bull of concession of May 3, 1493, Spain is granted rights to "certas Insulas remotissimas, et etiam terras firmas" found by Columbus "per partes occidentales, ut dicitur, versùs Indos, in mari Oceano" while in the bull of May 4, creating the line of demarcation between Spain and Portugal, the language is repeated.<sup>13</sup> In the papal bulls, the phrase "terras firmas" is not hyphenated (that is, joined together as a compound word), and the word "firmas" is occasionally dropped when the phrase is repeated, as in the phrase "in the said islands and lands" (for example, "in quibus quidem insulis et terris") closely following the complete phrase.

I have seen few scholarly comments on the plural form of the term. Indeed, the singular form in the Title of April 30 causes sufficient consternation and dispute as to whether the tripartite land mass of Europe, Asia, and Africa is meant, or a new unsuspected continent, or even an antipodean southern continent. Cecil Jane, in his introduction to the *Select Documents*

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*American Historical Review*, XXXVI (Nov. 1956), 503-509, and reproduced in facsimile with an analysis by David B. Quinn, "The Argument for the English Discovery of America between 1480 and 1494," *Geographical Journal*, CXXVII (Sept. 1961), 277-85. I have profited from discussions of the terminology of the voyages of discovery with Professor Vigneras and with William Jerome Wilson, both of Washington, D. C.

<sup>10</sup> *Colección de los viajes y descubrimientos, que hicieron por mar los españoles desde fines del siglo xv, con varios documentos inéditos concernientes á la historia de la marina castellana y de los establecimientos españoles en Indias*, ed. Don Martín Fernández de Navarrete (5 vols., Madrid, 1825-37), II, No. 5, 7-8.

<sup>11</sup> John Boyd Thacher, *Christopher Columbus: His Life, His Work, His Remains* (3 vols., New York, 1903-1904), III, 647. The royal confirmation of the Majorat, Sept. 28, 1501, uses "mainland" in the singular. (III, 656-59.)

<sup>12</sup> *Colección de los viajes*, ed. Navarrete, II, No. 6, 9-11. Nineteenth-century printed versions of the Columbian documents usually expand contractions silently and sometimes supply capitals and hyphens.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 17, 24; No. 18, 30. The papal bulls of May 3 and 4, 1493, are printed in *Raccolta di documenti*, pt. 3, I, Nos. 1-3. For another use of the term "terras firmas," see the bull "Dudum siquidem," Sept. 25, 1493, *ibid.*, No. 5.

of Columbus, championed the southern continent explanation, equating *Terra Australis* with the "tierra firme" Columbus had in mind. E. G. R. Taylor, who finished Volume II of the *Documents* when Jane died, had to indicate her entire disagreement with Jane's theory and had to insist that the Eurasian land mass was meant instead, even though Professor Taylor felt that Columbus could hardly have expected to become viceroy of the dominions of the Grand Khan.<sup>14</sup>

The Columbian field is littered with the problems of explaining the phrase "tierra firme" in Columbus' Title. How much more difficult to explain the plural form! I would suggest, subject to more detailed study, that the term "tierras firmes" in the text of the royal agreement was designed more for legalistic completeness in describing land masses of varying sizes rather than for signifying major geographical distinctions in the minds of Columbus or of the sovereigns.

I would go beyond this statement and say that the term "tierra firme," in either its singular or plural form, in an age when the *orbis terrarum* was conceived of as *the* land mass of the world, frequently implied a relationship between the insular and noninsular areas of the same general portion of the globe, a relationship that is not inherent in later uses of the term. I do not rule out its use, particularly with the definite article, as a description of the central *orbis terrarum*, but I do suggest that even when used with this meaning the concept in the mind of the user is not normally of the whole tripartite land mass of Europe, Asia, and Africa, but of that portion of it with which he is directly concerned.

In all the documents of authorization and the like issued in 1493 following Columbus' return from his first voyage, and before his second voyage, the phrase "tierra firme" is invariably in the singular, without the definite or indefinite article, in contexts which make it doubtful that the reference is to the Asiatic land mass geographically conceived of as "a continent" or "the mainland."

For example, in the Confirmation of the title given to Columbus as admiral, viceroy, and governor of "las islas y tierra-firme" that have been and will be discovered, May 18, 1493, the original title of April 30, 1492 (which is also in the singular), is repeated, and the statement added that the sovereigns hope that Columbus will find "otras islas é tierra-firme en el dicho mar Océano á la dicha parte de las Indias" and that they confirm his titles of ad-

<sup>14</sup> *Select Documents Illustrating the Four Voyages of Columbus*, I, *The First and Second Voyages*, ed. Cecil Jane (London, 1930), cxix; *Select Documents*, II, ed. Taylor, lxxxi; see also *id.*, "Idée Fixe: The Mind of Christopher Columbus," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XI (Aug. 1931), 291.

miral, viceroy, and governor of the said Ocean Sea, “é islas é tierra-firme” that he has and will discover.<sup>15</sup>

Document after document in this period repeats the title of Columbus as “Almirante de las Islas é Tierra firme, descubiertas é por descubrir en el mar Océano a la parte de las Indias.”<sup>16</sup> It is, of course, possible to interpret the phrase as encouraging Columbus to discover, along with other islands, other parts of a single continent assumed to have been discovered. Similarly, it is possible to interpret the phrase as encouraging Columbus to find for the first time a continent assumed to be yet undiscovered. But these, along with other possible explanations, do not seem to be adequate explanations of the language so frequently repeated in the documents of this period.

Can we solve the difficulty by translating “terra firma” as “lands,” as Henry Vignaud usually does? Vignaud was not consistent and occasionally translated the phrase as “continent” or “mainland,” while at the same time not hesitating to speak of Antillia as “a large continental island.”<sup>17</sup> Since Vignaud was trying to prove that Columbus was not really looking for Asia, but for new lands that he knew to exist, it is important for him to deny that “terra firma” could refer to the Asiatic continent. Nor does he interpret the phrase to mean an America of continental proportions since evidence to prove Columbus’ prior knowledge of the existence of such a land mass would be equally difficult to demonstrate. Vignaud, therefore, steered a cautious middle ground by avoiding the problem of precise definition of the term, neither identifying it with one continental land mass or the other, careful only to make its definition serve his thesis that Columbus had prior knowledge of lands of unspecified extent to which his enterprise was directed. Vignaud thus hit on a usage—I cannot say he formulated a definition since he is inconsistent—which is closer to the truth than is the usage of many of his opponents, but he does so for the wrong reason, and hence it does not serve to salvage his misguided theory of Columbus’ intentions.

It is sometimes asserted that European monarchs expected to sail to Asiatic shores and immediately “take over.”<sup>18</sup> I cannot accept this assumption, although it is true enough that Europeans expected to take possession of

<sup>15</sup> *Colección de los viages*, ed. Navarrete, II, No. 41, 57–62.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, *passim*.

<sup>17</sup> Henry Vignaud, *Toscanelli and Columbus: A Letter from Sir Clements R. Markham, and a Reply from Mr. Henry Vignaud* (London, 1903), 22; see also the work of Vignaud previously cited, and other works by the same author, *passim*.

<sup>18</sup> See, e.g., the letter of Jerome Münzer or Münzmeister, a Nuremberg savant, July 14, 1493, to King John II of Portugal, in Henry Harrisse, *The Discovery of North America: A Critical, Documentary, and Historic Investigation* (London, 1892), 394. Münzer’s letter provides the basis for the views of many later historians on this question.



minor offshore islands. That the Europeans did not conceive of appropriating the sovereignty of the great mainland kingdoms of Asia is suggested by the experience of Vasco da Gama, the first European to reach by sea the sought for India of the East, who came with cautious respect and regard for the diplomatic niceties.

The observance of similar diplomatic niceties in the preparation for Columbus' voyage reinforces my view that the "tierra firme" of the Capitulations could not have meant the Asiatic continent with its rich and powerful kingdoms described by Polo.

The diplomatic mission carried by Columbus, headed by Luis de Torres, a converted Jew "who knew Hebrew and Aramaic and even some Arabic," carrying a Latin passport, Latin letter of credence from Ferdinand and Isabella, and a royal gift, was actually dispatched in Cuba to find the court of the Grand Khan and pay the respects of the Spanish monarchs. When it proved impossible to find any but naked people and simple huts, the facts of power began to assert themselves even while the land remained in theory Asiatic.<sup>19</sup>

Columbus' belief that Cuba was the mainland of Asia was re-enforced in the course of his second voyage, after sailing for more than a month along its southern shore. Before turning back late in June 1494, Columbus required his crew members to declare whether they believed Cuba to be in fact "la tierra-firme" (note the article). In the testimony, the arguments involve the assertion that this land must be part of the Eurasian land mass. The mariners asserted that they had never heard or seen an island 335 leagues long on one coast from East to West which still continued even further. All declared that the land must be "la tierra-firme y no isla." Some affirmed that in not too many leagues further on there "must be" highly cultivated people.<sup>20</sup>

It was not until Columbus' third voyage that he actually arrived at what we consider continental lands in the Western Hemisphere. For a long time Columbus considered the lands he encountered on this voyage islands, and so named them. Finally, just before leaving the coast for Hispaniola, Columbus, in the words of Las Casas, became "conscious that so great a land was not an island, but a continent."<sup>21</sup> In his journal for August 14-15, he recorded his

<sup>19</sup> Samuel Eliot Morison, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea* (2 vols., Boston, 1942), I, 327, 328-29. The passport and letter are reproduced in Antonio Ballesteros y Beretta, *Cristóbal Colón y el descubrimiento de América* (Barcelona, 1945), 541-42.

<sup>20</sup> "Información y testimonio" of the scribe Diego de Peñalosa, June 12, 1494, in *Colección de los viajes*, ed. Navarrete, II, No. 76, 143-49.

<sup>21</sup> Las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, Bk. I, Chap. cxxxviii (II, 33); translation by Morison, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea*, II, 279. Columbus' use of the phrase does not include a definite, or indefinite, article. Las Casas' use of the term normally includes the definite article and refers to the land discovered, not to Asia.

belief that "this is a very great continent, which until today has been unknown." Morison cites this passage as a typical example of how Columbus' mind worked, noting as extraordinary that despite a two-weeks' sail along this land mass, it "failed to meet his mental specifications of how a continent should appear." What were Columbus' specifications for a continent? Did the concept, as we know it, exist in his mind? The fact that Columbus considered not only that this was "tierra firme," but that it was an "Otro Mundo," or "Other World," unknown to the ancients, did not alter his conviction that it was both part of Asia and an island between which and China a passage could be found back to Europe.<sup>22</sup> Are we not again, perhaps, being swayed by our later conception of "continent"?

In Amerigo Vespucci's first letter on his voyages to Piero Soderini, the original of which we do not have, we read that Vespucci left Cadiz May 10, 1497, crossed the Ocean Sea, and discovered "molta terra ferma & infinite isole." In the description of the second voyage Vespucci's narrative also notes that he arrived at "una nuoua terra" which he deemed to be "terra ferma & continua con" the land previously found.<sup>23</sup> Note the lack of articles and the obviously adjectival form of the words modifying "terra." To translate "terra firma" as "continent" in the twentieth century requires an identification with presently defined continents and is not, I suggest, necessarily valid for the Age of Discovery.

As further exploration of the vast lands originally discovered by Columbus was carried on by others, and as doubts that Columbus had reached Asia piled up, the term "tierra firme" tended to be applied more and more to a restricted portion of the northern coast of South America. The two volumes of testimony concerning Columbus' son's rights and his father's achievements, the famous *Pleitos*, give abundant evidence of this meaning.<sup>24</sup> Increasingly the term is capitalized in both its members, and often hyphenated, and takes on the character of a proper name for a specific area rather than serving as a geographical description of a type of land area.

One is hampered by the grandiose character of all suitable translations for "tierra firme." In the Spanish and Portuguese one finds the term often used

<sup>22</sup> Morison, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea*, II, 279-80.

<sup>23</sup> *The First Four Voyages of Amerigo Vespucci*, Reprinted in facsimile and translated from the rare original edition, Florence, 1505-6 (London, 1893); see also Henry Vignaud, *Americ Vespuce, 1451-1512* (Paris, 1917), 306, 325; *Lettera di Amerigo Vespucci delle isole nuovamente trovate in quattro suoi viaggi (1504)*, Reproduced in facsimile from the McCormick-Hoe copy in the Princeton University Library (Princeton, N. J., 1916), 3; *Amerigo Vespucci: Letter to Piero Soderini, Gonfaloniere: The Year 1504*, tr. George Tyler Northup (Princeton, N. J., 1916), 3.

<sup>24</sup> *Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de ultramar*, 2d ser., VII-VIII, *De los pleitos de Colón* (Madrid, 1892-94), *passim*.



without the article<sup>25</sup> while English translations almost invariably have to say "the mainland."<sup>26</sup> I suggest that the English translation may be one reason for the assumption that "tierra firme" must refer to continental land masses in the sense in which we know them now.

Most revealing of all usages is "tierra firme" not as the antonym of "island," but as a synonym. In one of the documents concerning the privileges that were to accrue to Columbus we read:

And if it should be argued that the third part granted to the Admiral of Castile is to be understood as relating to moveables, which he might acquire by sea; whereas the said islands being mainland [e que por ser las dichas yslas tierra firme], although acquired by sea, the third part of them cannot belong to the Admiral in consequence of their being unmoveable. . . .<sup>27</sup>

We need the type of collecting of examples which the Romance philologists have done for the polite literature of the period.<sup>28</sup> Unfortunately, few of their dictionaries of early Spanish pay much attention to the historical documents in which these uses occur.

In the midst of these shifting uses of basic terms, is it any wonder that historians have found different answers to the Columbian problem? It is as though someone kept changing the ingredients in a scientist's experiment. He could hardly be expected to come out with consistent results. Yet historians have been trying to solve a problem without first knowing what they were talking about.

It is too easy for us to conceive of "terra firma" in terms of well-defined, well-known land masses. As a result we are inclined to define "terra firma" in conceptual terms of a geographically theoretical sort. I believe the men of affairs of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries saw "terra firma" in terms of

<sup>25</sup> See, e.g., Las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, Bk. I, Chap. cxxxv (II, 20). I do not mean to suggest, however, that Las Casas' use of the term without the article differs in meaning from his use of the term with the article.

<sup>26</sup> See, e.g., *The Northmen, Columbus and Cabot, 985-1503*, ed. Julius E. Olson and Edward Gaylord Bourne (New York, 1906), 333-40 (translation of Las Casas on the third voyage of Columbus).

<sup>27</sup> *Memorials of Columbus; or A Collection of Authentic Documents of that Celebrated Navigator* (London, 1823), 199-200. The Spanish text and a different translation ("the said islands being firm land") appear in *Christopher Columbus: His Own Book of Privileges, 1502*, Photographic Facsimile of the Manuscript . . . with an historical introduction by Henry Harrisse, ed. Benjamin Franklin Stevens (London, 1893), doc. xlii. Thacher, *Christopher Columbus*, II, 560, does not discuss this document. The document is also printed in *Raccolta di documenti*, pt. 2, II, 88.

<sup>28</sup> See, e.g., *Tentative Dictionary of Medieval Spanish*, ed. Ralph Steele Boggs *et al.* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1946). The Seminar of Medieval Spanish Studies, University of Wisconsin, is in the process of continuing this dictionary. J. Vidago's "Glossary of Portuguese Words Used as Components for Topographical Features and Landmarks in Early Portuguese Cartography," *Imago Mundi*, X (1953), 45-49, is slight, but a step in the right direction. Professor Kahane, mentioned in note 7, his wife Renée, and Andreas Tietze have recently prepared *The Lingua Franca in the Levant: Turkish Nautical Terms of Italian and Greek Origin* (Urbana, Ill., 1958), which illustrates what can be done in a related field.

ill-defined, little-known land masses, or as one part of a geographical relationship, and as a result defined the phrase in practical terms of a geographically descriptive sort.

What is meant by "discovery"? Can lands known by reputation and past visitation be said to be "discovered" by later visitors? Can an Italian in the fifteenth century "discover" China? Or had Marco Polo performed that operation several centuries earlier? Can Japan be "discovered" by a fifteenth- or sixteenth-century European who had read Polo's description of the kingdom gained not by personal visit but by knowledge acquired in China? Cecil Jane felt that it would be "impossible" for Columbus to claim he had discovered China, while it would be "hardly possible" for him to allege that he had discovered Japan.<sup>29</sup> Yet I think a good case can be made for asserting in each instance that these Oriental countries could be discovered by fifteenth-century Europeans. Indeed, one might say that discovery is a personal accomplishment. Nothing can be discovered for us; we must discover it. How many Americans "discovered" Japan for the first time after World War II?

But what do we mean by the verb "to discover" in the time of Columbus? Do we mean uncovering land that was "hidden" to us, but known to exist? Or does it mean reaching, by calculation or by chance, lands never known before? Columbus persisted in referring to his discoveries under the first heading. In his letter to the Catholic King, around October 18, 1498, he listed the lands that had come under the Spanish crown as a result of his effort, among which he included a large portion "of terra-firma, well known to the ancients and not unknown, as the envious and ignorant would have it."<sup>30</sup>

Is Columbus' "discovery" any less valid because he insisted on giving Oriental names to what he, in behalf of Europe, "uncovered" physically for the first time instead of "discovering" without worrying about theory? Theory, even false theory, is necessary for the person taking an utterly new step, as Columbus did. No theory is necessary for those who merely followed his course and then went a little beyond. As Las Casas put it, in measuring Columbus' achievement: "It was he that put the thread into the hands of the rest, by which they found the clew to more distant parts." Should the others, Vespucci, for example, be dignified by the word "discoverer" in the same

<sup>29</sup> *Select Documents of Columbus*, I, ed. Jane, ci.

<sup>30</sup> *Raccolta di documenti*, pt. I, II, 46-48; quoted and translated in Edmundo O'Gorman, *The Invention of America: An Inquiry into the Historical Nature of the New World and the Meaning of Its History* (Bloomington, Ind., 1961), 99-100. The original phrase includes the article "la tierra firme."

sense in which it is applied to Columbus? It seems hardly less reasonable to call Columbus' unruly crew "discoverers" because they followed his commands as the others followed his routes.

The most extensive analysis of the term "discovery" has been made by the Mexican historian Edmundo O'Gorman. In O'Gorman's concept "Discovery" implies that the nature of the thing found was previously known to the finder, i.e., that he knows that objects such as the one he has found can and do exist, although the existence of that particular one was wholly unknown." O'Gorman reserves the word "invent" for the person who first conceives that what has been discovered is of a new order of reality and unlike the class of discovered objects expected. Hence the historian's statement that "Columbus discovered America October 12, 1492," is only an interpretation, inadequate to O'Gorman, and not a statement of fact. To O'Gorman, "In order to maintain that Columbus had revealed the existence of such a continent [one hitherto unknown], it was necessary to establish that he was previously aware of its existence; otherwise there would be no justification in attributing the 'discovery' to him."<sup>31</sup> O'Gorman insists that Columbus make his belief that he has arrived in Asia "fit empirical data." To do so Columbus must prove "that part of the coast line explored by him belonged to a continental mass, as he thought, or that, not far to the west, such a mass of land existed." It is not enough, O'Gorman believes, for Columbus to show that what had been found was merely "an archipelago located somewhere in midocean, as Peter Martyr [the contemporary chronicler of Columbus' voyages] was inclined to believe."<sup>32</sup> Of course this begs the question. Martyr's "new world" is consistent not only with a location near Asia, but can even be argued to be consistent with a portion of the *orbis terrarum* not hitherto known in Europe. In what does O'Gorman think the "empirical evidence" about Asia consists? Does the account of Marco Polo and a few others exhaust the knowledge that is needed for a European to "know" Asia? The notion is absurd, particularly when applied to places like Japan and the myriad islands thought to be southeast of China which Polo had never visited.<sup>33</sup>

O'Gorman, like his fellow Latin Americans, Germán Arciniegas and Roberto Levillier, prefers to honor Amerigo Vespucci as the true "discoverer" of the Americas, on the assumption that it was he who first conceived of the new lands as a continental land mass separate and distinct from Asia. The intricate yet essentially simplistic arguments in which one must be involved to

<sup>31</sup> O'Gorman, *Invention of America*, 9-10, 15.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 87-88, 83-85; see below.

<sup>33</sup> See below.

consider this proposition are too sterile to bear lengthy restatement here.<sup>34</sup>

Among the specific problems involved in the dispute is the meaning of the verb used by Waldseemüller, in his *Cosmographiae Introductio*, to describe Vespucci's "discovery." In this book Waldseemüller speaks of the fourth part of the world which, by Vespucci "inventā est. . . ." O'Gorman points out that the word is normally translated as "discover" and has led to the charge that Vespucci (or Waldseemüller for him) usurped the honor that rightly belonged to Columbus. O'Gorman insists that the translation read "conceive" and that it merely recognizes that Vespucci conceived of the existence of this fourth part of the world as a separate entity. Do we not see here the twisting of the meaning both of the word "part" and of the words "inventā est"? Vespucci's exploring mission along an extended coastline to which his name is applied is elevated to the enunciation of a modern conceptual scheme of the world.<sup>35</sup>

How does one categorize the voyages of fishermen who may well have preceded the "discoverers" to the New World? As David Quinn has put it, "The history of the Newfoundland fishery, from the time it emerges in the early sixteenth century, demonstrates how incidental and casual was the attention of the fishermen of four nations to the land which bordered the fishing grounds."<sup>36</sup> Can we say that where there is no interest in the geographical aspects of the discovery there is no discovery? Or would we be falling into the same trap into which O'Gorman has enmeshed himself? I think we can say that it is important to recognize that the eye with which the historian looks at the discoveries is one oriented to modern maps, modern conceptions of continents, islands, and the historical development that followed the discoveries. The professor's hands are not dirtied by the baskets of fish that motivated the fisherman. And is not the "discovery" of the formally commissioned explorer—the Cabots and the Columbuses—something else again? The royal commissions that such discoverers carried with them were normally to "discover and gain," and the phrase is perhaps more instructive of the meaning of their voyages of "discovery" than is the professor's geographical "discovery" or the fisherman's new-found "fishing grounds."

<sup>34</sup> I have dealt with the problem at some length in my review of Arciniegas' book, *Amerigo and the New World: The Life and Times of Amerigo Vespucci* (New York, 1955), in *William and Mary Quarterly*, XIII (Jan. 1956), 102–106, and in my reply to Arciniegas' objection to the review in the July issue (451–53).

<sup>35</sup> O'Gorman, *Invention of America*, 167–68, n. 117. It is of interest to note that the first six listings in Henry Harrisse's *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima, A Description of Works Relating to America Published between the Years 1492 and 1551* (Madrid, 1958), which are separate editions of the Latin translation of Columbus' letter to Raphael Sanchez, written on his return in 1493, refer to the islands "nuper inventis" (Nos. 1–4) or "de novo repertis" (No. 5) or "noviter repertis" (No. 6).

<sup>36</sup> Quinn, "Argument for the English Discovery of America," 282.

What has been said about discovery illustrates the complexity of the simple little term. Yet few historians have gone deeply into the subject. Samuel Eliot Morison's brief essay on the meaning of the verb "descobrir" in his *Portuguese Voyages to America in the Fifteenth Century* is one of the few such disquisitions. Morison aptly selects a quotation illustrating most of the varied meanings of the term. These meanings, whether emphasizing the sense of "finding by chance," "uncovering," or "exploring," are basically similar in Spanish and, indeed, in French and English. Would that the historical profession had members willing to compile the word lists which form the grist of the philologists' mill.<sup>37</sup>

As Professor Charles E. Nowell has pointed out: "The word India in the Middle Ages had no exact geographical meaning to Europeans; it was a convenient expression denoting the East beyond the Mohammedan world."<sup>38</sup> But what of "the Indies"? The phrase "Las Indias" in the plural rather than the singular is so common to us today that we do not stop to consider the special circumstances of its origin. As Admiral Morison has put it: "*La Empresa de las Indias*, the Enterprise of the Indies, as Columbus called his undertaking in after years, was simply to reach 'The Indies,' that is, Asia, by sailing westward."<sup>39</sup> Yet I would like to ask when one finds the first use of the phrase "The Indies"? The phrase appears in almost all official Spanish documents relating to Columbus following his return from his first voyage in March 1493.

How frequently does it appear before that time? The famous letter of Paolo Toscanelli of June 25, 1474, uses the term in its Spanish version made by Las Casas in the sixteenth century, but not in its earlier Latin or Italian versions. I do not question its use by Toscanelli; nor do I assert that the term was not used before 1492.<sup>40</sup> It did not, however, as many assume, refer to the islands off the mainland of Asia, even though Polo had written of 12,700 in the Sea of India. Rather the expression seems to have derived from the habit of dividing India into various parts, usually "India the Greater," "India the Lesser," and the "Indian Islands."<sup>41</sup> The plural form, therefore, could cover,

<sup>37</sup> Samuel Eliot Morison, *Portuguese Voyages to America in the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1940), 5-10. Howard Cline, director of the Hispanic Foundation of the Library of Congress, called this passage to my attention.

<sup>38</sup> Charles E. Nowell, *The Great Discoveries and the First Colonial Empires* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1954), 13.

<sup>39</sup> Morison, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea*, I, 76.

<sup>40</sup> Thacher, *Christopher Columbus*, I, 303-304.

<sup>41</sup> *The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian, concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East*, tr. and ed. Sir Henry Yule, rev. Henri Cordier (3d ed., 2 vols., London, 1929), Bk. III, Chap. xxxiv, (II, 423-24, 426n.). The use of the word "Indies" is extremely limited in the Polo book. The varied manuscript and printed editions would have to be thoroughly checked

indiscriminately, all parts of the world known as "India," just as it eventually covered all Spanish possessions, insular and continental, in the New World. We may ask, nevertheless, why Columbus, in his letter to Luis de Santangel, immediately on his return from the first voyage, and in the first sentence of the letter, reported that he had "passed over to the Indies with the fleet which the most illustrious King and Queen, our Lords, gave me; where I found very many islands peopled with inhabitants beyond number."<sup>42</sup> Why not "India"? Columbus possibly wanted to use the vaguest, most inclusive term he could find to suggest India without doing violence to the public imagination back home. The term "Indies" was the least specific term applicable to the newly discovered lands.

Ferdinand Columbus reported that his father called the lands he discovered "the Indies"

not because they had been seen or discovered by others, but because they were the eastern part of India, beyond the Ganges, to which no geographer had ever set bounds on the east, or made it border on any other country eastward, but only upon the ocean. And because these lands were the unknown eastern part of India and had no name of their own, he named them after the nearest adjoining land, calling them the West Indies. He had the more reason for doing this because he knew all men had heard of the great fame and wealth of India; and by using that name he hoped to arouse the interest of the Catholic Sovereigns (who were doubtful of his enterprise), telling them that he was going to discover the Indies by way of the West.<sup>43</sup>

One can appreciate Columbus' problem of nomenclature for the lands between Asia and Europe. What distinguishes Asia from Europe? The line can be rather clearly drawn in the land bridge between the two, but how were Europeans to be expected to classify peoples in the seas between Asia and Europe in which they had never traveled? Had Columbus arrived at the Philippines instead of Española, would he have acted or thought or written differently? Would any European have known how to classify Philippine natives, Borneo natives, New Guinea tribesmen, Formosan aborigines, Polynesians? What empirical evidence makes all these peoples and their lands Asiatic or near-Asiatic? Europe was aware of myriad islands supposed to

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before one could speak with finality, but I think it safe to say that its use in predisccovery editions is almost nil. Kimble, *Geography in the Middle Ages*, comments that the term "Indies" is "a vague term, for in the Middle Ages there were at least three Indias, viz. India Minor, India Major and India Tertia, i.e. the Sind, Hind and Zinj of the Arabs. The first two were located in Asia, the last in Africa (in Ethiopia)." (128n.)

<sup>42</sup> Vignaud, *Grande Entreprise*, II, 105, considers this the first use of the expression "las Indias." *The Northmen*, ed. Olson and Bourne, 263.

<sup>43</sup> *The Life of the Admiral Christopher Columbus by His Son Ferdinand*, tr. and annotated Benjamin Keen (New Brunswick, N. J., 1959), Chap. vi, 16-17. Thacher, *Christopher Columbus*, II, 560-61, suggests that the first use of the term "West Indies" dates from Columbus' Book of Privileges (doc. xliii) compiled in 1502.



exist in the seas to the east and south of China and India, but no European of the time knew by direct acquaintance the locations of the lands or the character of the people, either in the offshore islands or on the mainland itself.

Marco Polo had reported not only about the incredibly civilized, powerful, populous, and wealthy kingdoms like China and Japan, but of islands such as "Necuveran" in which "they have no king or chief, but live like beasts. And I tell you they go all naked, both men and women, and do not use the slightest covering of any kind. They are Idolaters."<sup>44</sup> To condemn Columbus for failing to recognize the difference between Polo's China and his own discoveries is to ignore Polo's reports of the "savage" islands in the Sea of India and to overlook his warning that he had described only the most noteworthy of these islands "for no man on earth could give you a true account of the whole of the Islands of India."<sup>45</sup>

No true empirical evidence existed to "tell" the discoverers whether or not they had reached Asia. To assume that such "empirical evidence" existed in the reports of Polo is to stretch the meaning of the phrase to an unrecognizable point. Columbus was a sailor who knew what he had seen and where he had been, and his theory of reaching Asia by a short sail west, ridiculed by most, seemed to have been vindicated. It was logical for him to assume that he was better qualified to name the lands he had found than any armchair strategist.<sup>46</sup>

In a sense, cannot one say that "America"—or rather the unknown, unnamed lands discovered by Columbus—was indeed a part of Asia, since it had been settled by men from the Asiatic land mass (the "Indians") and since it had been at one time joined physically at the present straits bearing the name of the eighteenth-century explorer, Vitus Bering, who, at that late date, proved that "Asia" and "America" missed, by a few miles, being one "continent"?<sup>47</sup>

Columbus himself, on April 2, 1502, before starting on his final voyage, had copies of all his contracts, privileges, and commissions made and certified by the royal notary, and deposited in the Bank of St. George at Genoa.

<sup>44</sup> *Book of Ser Marco Polo*, tr. and ed. Yule, Bk. III, Chap. XII (II, 306).

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, Bk. II, Chap. XXXIV (423-24).

<sup>46</sup> See Las Casas' discussion of the propriety of naming the newly discovered lands "the Indies" in *Historia de las Indias*, Bk. I, Chap. v (I, 38-39).

<sup>47</sup> It is instructive to consider that as late as 1542, the year Europeans first set foot in Japan, Caspar Vopel drew North America and Asia as identical and wrote on the island of Haiti: "Zipangu nunc Hispaniola." (Paul Graf Teleki, *Atlas zur Geschichte der Kartographie der japanischen Inseln* [Budapest, 1909], 14.) The interesting peregrinations of the mysterious island of Cipangu are detailed in Wilcomb E. Washburn, "Japan on Early European Maps," *Pacific Historical Review*, XXI (Aug. 1952), 221-36.

He signed his letter to the lords of the bank with the title "The Great Admiral of the Ocean Sea, and Viceroy and Governor of the Islands and Mainland of Asia and the Indies belonging to the King and Queen, my sovereigns, and their Captain-General of the Sea, and a member of their Council."<sup>48</sup>

In this instance his title, repeated by his son Diego in his will of 1509,<sup>49</sup> is as full as he dared to claim it, and it demonstrates Columbus' conception of the theoretical location of Asia combined with his knowledge of Spain's actual power over the lands he discovered. It is not proof of his assumption or intention, before the voyage, to take over the government of the "Asia" known to fifteenth-century Europe.

The medieval world tended to conceive of a central land mass, an *orbis terrarum*, inhabited by humans and located in the Northern Hemisphere. The problem of whether an antipodal land mass existed in the Southern Hemisphere had been debated fruitlessly from classical times. The concept of an antipodal land mass, an "orbis alter," tended to be denied by Christian writers since it was hard to conceive that the gospel had been preached in any such lands. Nevertheless some writers conceded the existence of the antipodes, while denying the presence of inhabitants there. Among these writers was St. Isidore of Seville who conceived of the antipodal regions, uninhabited in his view, as a fourth "part" of the world, along with Europe, Asia, and Africa.<sup>50</sup>

The term "world" appears in many senses in the writings of classical and medieval scholars, theologians, and cartographers. There could be many "worlds" or orbs within the Ocean Sea on the face of the earth. Indeed, Seneca's famous prediction that there would come an age when the chains of the ocean would be broken, "novos orbes" would be discovered, and Thule would no longer be ultimate, illustrates the frequent, often poetic or colloquial use of the term "world," as one part of the globe, not the entire globe itself.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>48</sup> *Raccolta di documenti*, pt. 1, II, 171 ("las yslas y tierra firme de Asia & Yndias"); Eng. tr. in William Eleroy Curtis, "The Existing Autographs of Christopher Columbus," *Annual Report, American Historical Association*, 1894 (Washington, D. C., 1895), 462.

<sup>49</sup> Thacher, *Christopher Columbus*, III, 664.

<sup>50</sup> St. Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum* (Jacques Paul Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, Latin ser. [221 vols., Paris, 1844-64], lxxxii, col. 512), as follows: "Extra tres antem partes orbis, quarta pars trans Oceanum interior est in meridie, quae solis ardore nobis incognita est, in cuius finibus Antipodes fabulose inhabitare produntur." Quoted in O'Gorman, *Invention of America*, 56, 153n.

<sup>51</sup> See Las Casas' commentary on the passage, *Historia de las Indias*, Bk. I, Chap. x (I, 58-60). For a fine translation of the passage, see Morison, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea*, I, 76. O'Gorman discusses the term "world" (*Invention of America*, 61-69), emphasizing that the



Peter Martyr's frequently reported phrase "Colonus ille Novi Orbis repertor," used for the first time in his letter to Cardinal Ascanio Sforza from Barcelona, November 1, 1493, does not imply the conception of a "new world" in the sense of an American continent, though this claim is often made. The phrase is perfectly consistent with either an Asiatic or non-Asiatic location and also with a land area of less than "continental" size.<sup>52</sup>

Alexander von Humboldt long ago demonstrated that the phrase "new world" was often applied to unknown parts of a known region even when both were parts of the same land mass.<sup>53</sup>

The popular meaning of the phrase "new world" is suggested by Bartolomé de las Casas' report of Columbus' reception on his return from his first voyage. Though written after the event it may well suggest the contemporary use of the term. Las Casas reported that the sovereigns, learning of Columbus' arrival, "ordered that a solemn and very beautiful reception should be given him, for which all the people came out and the whole city, filling the streets and marvelling on seeing in that venerable person the one who was said to have discovered another world [*otro mundo*]. . . ."<sup>54</sup>

Columbus referred to the areas he had discovered as "another world" (*otro mundo*) both in the course of his third voyage in 1498 and in his letter to the nurse of Prince Don Juan of Castile in 1500, when he was returning from the Indies as a prisoner. In the latter letter, after quoting from St. John and from Isaiah concerning a "new heaven and a new earth," Columbus also pictured himself as the messenger chosen by God to undertake "a new voyage to the new heaven and world [*viaje nuevo al nuevo cielo e mundo*], which up till then had remained hidden."<sup>55</sup> Both Columbus and Vespucci referred to the newly discovered lands both as a part of Asia and as a "new world." How futile, then, to claim, as O'Gorman so insistently does, that Vespucci had "empirical evidence" that the southern mainland was not

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Christian world after the deluge was coterminous with the *orbis terrarum* and exclusive of the ocean which was a void juridically and geographically and only later part of the "world" of medieval men.

<sup>52</sup> *Raccolta di documenti*, pt. 3, II, 42.

<sup>53</sup> Alexander von Humboldt, *Examen Critique de l'histoire de la géographie du nouveau continent et des progrès de l'astronomie nautique aux quinzième et seizième siècles* (5 vols., Paris, 1836-39), V, 182n.; Skelton, *Explorers' Maps*, 56, has more recently pointed out the same thing.

<sup>54</sup> Las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, Bk. I, Chap. LXXVIII (I, 333); translated by Thacher in *Christopher Columbus*, I, 668.

<sup>55</sup> Las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, Bk. I, Chap. cxxxvi (II, 27); *Northmen*, ed. Olson and Bourne, 352 (Columbus' journal), 372, 381 (letter to the nurse of Prince Don Juan); see also *Colección de los viajes*, ed. Navarrete, I, 265-76. Edward Gaylord Bourne, *Spain in America, 1450-1580* (New York, 1904), 94-98, discusses the phrase "otro mundo."

merely an Asiatic peninsula while Columbus, with his a priori ideas, believed that it was. The empirical evidence of discovery of a coastline is the same whether one calls it Asia or something else. Neither Columbus nor Vespucci nor other Europeans knew, by direct knowledge, of Asia or any lands that might lie on the sea between it and Western Europe. Both saw the lands discovered as a new world. Does one need to emphasize the obvious in pointing out that Columbus was more insistent in calling the lands he encountered parts of Asia?

One does not need a universe in which to place a "new world." There is neither need nor logic in thinking such an expression equivalent to a new "continent," assuming we know what that word means. Perhaps historians are too little schooled in literature to appreciate the extensive use of metaphor and hyperbole. A doer, a seaman like Columbus, is less apt to misunderstand the meaning of such a term—as used in speech and writing—than a too literal book-bound scholar.

Bartolomé de las Casas, despite the abuse to which he is subjected by latter-day historians, takes what to me is the most satisfactory and scientific explanation of what we mean by Columbus' discovery. He cites myths and rumors of unknown or forgotten lands to the west, as well as the belief that Asia, or lands off Asia, was the goal, and after discussing them concludes that the question of exactly what land Columbus thought he had found makes no difference to the history of the discoveries which he is writing. For this attitude he is castigated by O'Gorman for "a thoroughly jumbled and indigestible hodgepodge" of comment on Columbus' motives, and for a thesis which causes "the many inconsistencies in his work."<sup>56</sup> It is odd that the present-day generation of presumably hardheaded historians and writers of Latin America, such as O'Gorman, Arciniegas, and Levillier should in fact be true, if misguided, metaphysicians while Las Casas, the man they denounce as a poor, misguided, medieval friar, is the real pragmatist and the true historian whose sophistication of method and knowledge of the events cannot fail to command our respect.

What O'Gorman fails to do is to carry his theory to its logical conclusion. Certainly Columbus did not discover "America" in a strictly logical sense. But if America is not what Columbus found, neither does it make sense to call America the lands in which our forefathers were born, in which we were born, or in which our children will be born. In fact, "America" changes

<sup>56</sup> Las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, Bk. I, Chaps. II, V, VI-XVIII (I, 27-30, 37-104); O'Gorman, *Invention of America*, 20-21.

in population, in industry, in agriculture, and in every conceivable human way every instant of every minute of every day. America is never the same; it is ever changing. The America Vespucci knew is not the America we know, either in human or geographical terms. What use is the term then? And are we to denounce with equal vigor the practice of calling the native inhabitants of the Americas "Indians"? Do we make allowances for those who use the term because "we all know what they mean"? If so, when do we apply the concession: 1493? 1500? 1515? 1542? And to whom? How do we know what the persons using the phrase meant by "Indians"? Obviously, one must use conventional signs to signify meaning. This is what O'Gorman and all the historians he criticizes do, though some do so with a greater degree of historical accuracy than others.

May we not conclude that an examination of the basic meaning of the words used to describe the early discoveries is in order when we get such extremes of interpretation as Vignaud on the one side, claiming Columbus' intention all along to find new lands rather than Asia, and O'Gorman's *idée fixe* that the world Columbus found was not America because he could not conceive it, and not Asia because he did not find it, but rather a world in limbo, existent in thought, but not in fact. Both Vignaud and O'Gorman rival each other in the persistence with which they have presented their theses in book after book. Yet their excessive zeal and their extreme divergence should be a double warning to us to re-examine the original texts and attempt to rewrite the history of the discoveries with an agreed upon vocabulary, one reflecting the reality of the fifteenth century without the admixture of the philosophy of later centuries.

My plea, then, is that scholars in many fields, cartographic, historical, linguistic, belletristic, search out more carefully and thoroughly the terms of the Age of Discovery and provide us with a more complete statistical sample upon which to base our assumptions. Until we know precisely what Columbus and his fellow explorers were talking about we will hardly be able to translate their intentions and actions into historical truth.

# Liberty and the First Amendment: 1790-1800

LEONARD W. LEVY\*

IN 1798 there was a sudden break-through in American libertarian thought on freedom of speech and press—sudden, radical, and transforming, like an underwater volcano erupting its lava upward from the ocean floor to form a new island. The Sedition Act, which was a thrust in the direction of a single-party press and a monolithic party system, triggered the Republican surge. The result was the emergence of a new promontory of libertarian thought jutting out of a stagnant Blackstonian sea.

To appreciate the Republican achievement requires an understanding of American libertarian<sup>1</sup> thought on the meaning and scope of freedom of political discourse. Contrary to the accepted view,<sup>2</sup> neither the Revolution nor the First Amendment superseded the common law by repudiating the Blackstonian concept that freedom of the press meant merely freedom from prior restraint. There had been no rejection of the concept that government may be criminally assaulted, that is, seditiously libeled, simply by the expression of critical opinions that tended to lower it in the public's esteem.

To be sure, the principle of a free press, like flag, home, and mother, had no enemies. Only seditious libels, licentious opinions, and malicious falsehoods were condemned. The question, therefore, is not whether freedom of the press was favored but what it meant and whether its advocates would extend it to a political opponent whose criticism cut to the bone on issues that

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<sup>1</sup>Some reviewers of my book, *Legacy of Suppression: Freedom of Speech and Press in Early American History* (Cambridge, Mass., 1960), have criticized my failure to define the words, "libertarian" and "libertarianism." The words derive from a Latin root meaning "free" and, like "liberty" or "freedom," cannot be defined with precision. I use them to signify those persons, or their thought, who advocated the widest measure of unrestricted freedom for speech and press. The meanings of the terms are relative to time and place.

<sup>2</sup>Most recently expressed by Justice Black in *Communist Party of the US v. Subversive Activities Control Board*, 81 S. Ct. 1357, at 1443, n. 46 (1961). Black quotes the statement by Holmes, Brandeis concurring, in *Abrams v. US*, 250 US 616, at 630 (1919): "I wholly disagree with the argument of the Government that the First Amendment left the common law as to seditious libel in force. History seems to me against the notion." See also *Beauharnais v. Ill.*, 343 US 250, at 272 and 289 (1951). The leading scholarly statement of the accepted view is Zechariah Chafee, Jr., *Free Speech in the United States* (Cambridge, Mass., 1948), 21. The most recent restatements are James Morton Smith, *Freedom's Fetters: The Alien and Sedition Laws and American Civil Liberties* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1956), 427-31; C. Herman Pritchett, *The American Constitution* (New York, 1959), 430; and David Fellman, *The Limits of Freedom* (New Brunswick, N. J., 1959), 97.

counted. Jefferson once remarked that he did not care whether his neighbor said that there are twenty gods or no God, because "It neither picks my pocket nor breaks my leg."<sup>3</sup> But in drafting a constitution for Virginia in 1776 he proposed that freedom of religion "shall not be held to justify any seditious preaching or conversation against the authority of the civil government."<sup>4</sup> And in the same year he helped frame a statute on treasonable crimes, punishing anyone who "by any word" or deed defended the cause of Great Britain.<sup>5</sup> Apparently political opinions could break his leg or pick his pocket, thus raising the question of what he meant by freedom of the press. We can say that he and his contemporaries supported an unrestricted public discussion of issues if we understand that "unrestricted" meant merely the absence of censorship in advance of publication: no one needed a government license to express himself, but he was accountable under the criminal law for abuse of his right to speak or publish freely.<sup>6</sup>

Before 1798 the *avant-garde* among American libertarians staked every-

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, ed. William Peden (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1955), 159.

<sup>4</sup> "A Bill for new modelling the form of government and for establishing the Fundamental principles of our future Constitution," dated by Julian Boyd as "before 13 June 1776," in *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. Julian P. Boyd et al. (16 vols., Princeton, N. J., 1950- ), I, 353. Jefferson copied this provision from a similar one in an earlier draft, then bracketed it out, and finally omitted it from a third draft. (*Ibid.*, 347.)

<sup>5</sup> "That the mere utterance of a political opinion is being penalized in these cases becomes even clearer in a statute such as that in Virginia, which declared the utterance of the opinion, or action upon it, to be equally offensive, providing a fine not exceeding £20,000 and imprisonment not exceeding five years 'if any person residing or being within this commonwealth shall . . . by any word, open deed, or act, advisedly and willingly maintain and defend the authority, jurisdiction, or power, of the king or parliament of Great Britain, heretofore claimed and exercised within this colony, or shall attribute any such authority, jurisdiction, or power, to the king or parliament of Great Britain.'" (Willard Hurst, "Treason in the United States," *Harvard Law Review*, LVIII (Dec. 1944), 267, quoting *The Statutes at Large Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia (1619-1792)*, ed. William Waller Hening [13 vols., Richmond, Va., 1809-23], IX, 170.) For Jefferson's role, see Hurst, "Treason in the United States," 251, and *Papers of Jefferson*, ed. Boyd et al., I, 598.

<sup>6</sup> The standard authority on the meaning of freedom of the press was William Blackstone, the oracle of the common law to the American framers, who summarized the law of criminal libels as follows: "where blasphemous, immoral, treasonable, schismatical, seditious, or scandalous libels are punished by the English law . . . the liberty of the press, properly understood, is by no means infringed or violated. The *liberty of the press* is indeed essential to the nature of a free state; but this consists in laying no *previous* restraints upon publications, and not in freedom from censure for criminal matter when published. Every freeman has an undoubted right to lay what sentiments he pleases before the public: to forbid this is to destroy the freedom of the press: but if he publishes what is improper, mischievous, or illegal, he must take the consequences of his own temerity. . . . But to punish (as the law does at present) any dangerous or offensive writings, which, when published, shall on a fair and impartial trial be adjudged of a pernicious tendency, is necessary for the preservation of peace and good order, a government and religion, the only solid foundations of civil liberty. Thus the will of individuals is still left free; the abuse only of that free-will is the object of legal punishment. Neither is any restraint hereby laid upon freedom of thought or enquiry; liberty of private sentiment is still left; the disseminating, or making public, of bad sentiments, destructive of the ends of society, is the crime which society corrects." (Sir William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England* [4 vols., London, 1765-69], Bk. IV, Chap. XI, 151-52; or, in the 18th ed., which I used [2 vols., New York, 1836], II, 112-13.)

thing on the principles of the Zenger case,<sup>7</sup> which they thought beyond improvement. No greater liberty could be conceived than the right to publish without restriction if only the defendant might plead truth as a defense in a criminal prosecution for seditious, blasphemous, obscene, or personal libel, and if the criminality of his words might be determined by a jury of his peers rather than by a judge. The substantive law of criminal libels was unquestioned.

Zengerian principles, however, were a frail prop for a broad freedom of the press. Granted, a defendant representing a popular cause against the administration in power might be acquitted, but if his views were unpopular, God help him—for a jury would not, nor would his plea of truth as a defense. A jury, then as today, was essentially a court of public opinion, often synonymous with public prejudice. Moreover, the opinions of men notoriously differ: one man's truth is another's falsehood. Indeed political opinions may be neither true nor false and are usually not capable of being proved by the rules of evidence, even if true. An indictment for seditious libel, based on a defendant's accusation of bribery or corruption by a public official, can be judged by a jury. But the history of sedition trials indicates that indictments are founded on accusations of a different order, namely, that the government, or one of its measures or officials, is unjust, tyrannical, or contrary to the public interest. Libertarians who accepted Zengerian principles painted themselves into a corner. If a jury returned a verdict of guilty despite a defense of truth, due process had been accorded, and protests were groundless, for the substance of the law that made the trial possible had not been challenged.

American acquiescence in the British or common-law definition of a free press was so widespread that even the frail Zengerian principles seemed daring, novel, and had few adherents. It was not until 1790, after the framing, but before the ratification, of the First Amendment, that the first state, Pennsylvania, took the then radical step of adopting the Zengerian principles<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> *A Complete Collection of State Trials to 1783*, comp. Thomas Bayly Howell, continued by T. J. Howell to 1820 (34 vols., London, 1816–28), XVII, 675; see also Livingston Rutherford, *John Peter Zenger, His Press, His Trial and a Bibliography of Zenger Imprints. Also a Reprint of the First Edition of the Trial* (New York, 1904). On the contemporary significance of the trial and its questionable influence in "freeing" the press, see Leonard W. Levy, "Did the Zenger Case Really Matter? Freedom of the Press in Colonial New York," *William and Mary Quarterly*, XVII (Jan. 1960), 35–50.

<sup>8</sup> "That the printing-presses shall be free to every person who undertakes to examine the proceedings of the legislature, or any branch of government, and no law shall ever be made to restrain the right thereof. The free communication of thoughts and opinions is one of the invaluable rights of man; and every citizen may freely speak, write, and print on any subject, *being responsible for the abuse of that liberty*. In *prosecutions* for the publication of papers investigating the official conduct of officers or men in a public capacity, or where the matter



which left the common law of seditious libel intact. The Pennsylvania provision was drafted by James Wilson, who (in the state convention that ratified the Constitution) declared, without challenge by any of the ardent proponents of a bill of rights: "what is meant by the liberty of the press is that there should be no antecedent restraint upon it; but that every author is responsible when he attacks the security or welfare of the government. . . ." The mode of proceeding, Wilson added, should be by prosecution.<sup>9</sup> The state constitutional provision of 1790 reflected this proposition, as did state trials before and after 1790.<sup>10</sup>

Delaware and Kentucky followed Pennsylvania's lead in 1792,<sup>11</sup> but elsewhere the *status quo* prevailed. In 1789 William Cushing and John Adams worried about whether the guarantee of a free press in Massachusetts ought to mean that truth was a good defense to a charge of criminal libel, but they agreed that false publications against the government were punishable.<sup>12</sup> In 1791, when a Massachusetts editor was prosecuted for a criminal libel against a state official, the Supreme Judicial Court divided on the question of truth as a defense, but, like the Pennsylvania judges,<sup>13</sup> agreed that the state constitutional guarantee of a free press was merely declaratory of the common law in simply prohibiting a licensing system.<sup>14</sup>

The opinions of Jefferson, the acknowledged libertarian leader in America, and of Madison, the father of the Bill of Rights, are especially significant. Jefferson, in 1783, when proposing a new constitution for Virginia, exempted the press from prior restraints, but carefully provided for prosecution—a

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published is proper for public information, the truth thereof may be given in evidence; and in all indictments for libels the jury shall have a right to determine the law and the facts, under the direction of the court, as in other cases." (Pennsylvania Constitution of 1790 [Art. IX, Sec. 7], in *The Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters, and Other Organic Laws*, ed. Francis Newton Thorpe [7 vols., Washington, D. C., 1909], V, 3100. *Italics mine.*)

<sup>9</sup> *Pennsylvania and the Federal Constitution, 1787-1788*, ed. John Bach McMaster and Frederick D. Stone (Philadelphia, 1888), 308-309.

<sup>10</sup> *Respublica v. Oswald*, 1 Dallas (Pa.) Reports 319 (1788); "Trial of William Cobbett," Nov. 1797, in *State Trials of the United States during the Administrations of Washington and Adams*, ed. Francis Wharton (Philadelphia, 1849), 323-24; *Respublica v. Dennie*, 4 Yeates (Pa.) Reports 267 (1805).

<sup>11</sup> Delaware Constitution of 1792 (Art. I, Sec. 5), in *Constitutions*, ed. Thorpe, I, 569, and Kentucky Constitution of 1792 (Art. XII, Sec. 7-8), *ibid.*, III, 1274.

<sup>12</sup> "Hitherto Unpublished Correspondence between Chief Justice Cushing and John Adams in 1789," ed. Frank W. Grinnell, *Massachusetts Law Quarterly*, XXVII (Oct. 1942), 12-16. Adams, of course, signed the Sedition Act into law and urged its enforcement; Cushing, as a Supreme Court judge, presided over some of the Sedition Act trials and charged juries on its constitutionality. (See Smith, *Freedom's Fetters*, 97-98, 152, 242, 267, 268, 271, 284, 311, 363, and 371.)

<sup>13</sup> See cases cited above in note 10. The judges in Oswald's case were Thomas McKean, then a Federalist but subsequently a Republican, and George Bryan, an Antifederalist and libertarian advocate of a national bill of rights.

<sup>14</sup> *Commonwealth v. Freeman*, reported in the *Boston Independent Chronicle*, Feb. 24, Mar. 3, 10, 17, and 24, 1791.

state criminal trial—in cases of false publication.<sup>15</sup> In 1788, when urging Madison to support a bill of rights to the new federal Constitution, Jefferson made the same recommendation.<sup>16</sup> Madison construed it in its most favorable light, observing: “The Exemption of the press from liability in every case for *true facts* is . . . an innovation and as such ought to be well considered.”<sup>17</sup> On consideration, however, he did not add truth as a defense to the amendment that he offered on the press when proposing a bill of rights to Congress.<sup>18</sup> Yet his phrasing appeared too broad for Jefferson who stated that he would be pleased if the press provision were altered to exclude freedom to publish “false facts . . . affecting the peace of the confederacy with foreign nations,”<sup>19</sup> a clause whose suppressive possibilities can be imagined in the context of a foreign policy controversy such as the one on Jay’s Treaty.

Madison fortunately ignored Jefferson’s proposal, but there is no evidence warranting the belief that he dissented from the universal American acceptance of the Blackstonian definition of a free press. At the Virginia ratifying convention in 1788 Madison remained silent when George Nicholas, one of his closest supporters, declared that the liberty of the press was secure because there was no power to license the press.<sup>20</sup> Again Madison was silent when John Marshall rose to say that Congress would never make a law punishing men of different political opinions “unless it be such a case as must satisfy the people at large.”<sup>21</sup> In October 1788, when replying to Jefferson’s argument that powers of the national government should be restricted by a bill of rights,<sup>22</sup> Madison declared: “absolute restrictions in cases that are doubtful, or where emergencies may overrule them, ought to be avoided.”<sup>23</sup>

<sup>15</sup> “Draught of a Fundamental Constitution for the Commonwealth of Virginia,” in *Papers of Jefferson*, ed. Boyd *et al.*, VI, 304: “PRINTING PRESS shall be subject to no other restraint than liableness to legal prosecution for false facts printed and published.” Boyd dates this document between May 15 and June 17, 1783.

<sup>16</sup> “A declaration that the federal government will never restrain the press from printing any thing they please, will not take away the liability of the printers for false facts printed.” (Jefferson to Madison, July 31, 1788, in *ibid.*, XIII, 442.)

<sup>17</sup> “Madison’s Observations on Jefferson’s Draft of a Constitution for Virginia,” Oct. 1788, in *ibid.*, VI, 316.

<sup>18</sup> Madison’s original proposal was: “The people shall not be deprived or abridged of their right to speak, to write, or to publish their sentiments; and the freedom of the press, as one of the great bulwarks of liberty, shall be inviolable.” (*The Debates and Proceedings in the Congress of the United States* [hereafter cited as *Annals of Congress*], 1 Cong., 1 sess., I, 451 [June 8, 1789].)

<sup>19</sup> Jefferson to Madison, Aug. 28, 1789, *Papers of Jefferson*, ed. Boyd *et al.*, XV, 367.

<sup>20</sup> “The liberty of the press is secured. . . . In the time of King William, there passed an act for licensing the press. That was repealed. Since that time it has been looked upon as safe.” (*The Debates in the Several State Conventions on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution . . . and Other Illustrations of the Constitution*, ed. Jonathan Elliot [2d. rev. ed., 5 vols. in 2, Philadelphia, 1941], III, 247.)

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 560.

<sup>22</sup> Jefferson to Madison, July 31, 1788, in *Papers of Jefferson*, ed. Boyd *et al.*, XIII, 422–23.

<sup>23</sup> Madison to Jefferson, Oct. 17, 1788, in *ibid.*, XIV, 20.



When Madison proposed an amendment in Congress guaranteeing freedom of the press, he did not employ the emphatic language of the Virginia ratifying convention's recommendation that the press cannot be abridged "by any authority of the United States."<sup>24</sup> The amendment, in the form in which Madison introduced it, omitted the important clause "by any authority of the United States,"<sup>25</sup> which would have covered the executive and the judiciary as well as Congress. The omitted clause would have prohibited the federal courts from exercising any common-law jurisdiction over criminal libels. As ratified, the First Amendment declared only that Congress should make no law abridging the freedom of speech or press.

What did the amendment mean at the time of its adoption? More complex than it appears, it meant several things, and it did not necessarily mean what it said or say what it was intended to mean. First, as is shown by an examination of the phrase "the freedom of the press," the amendment was merely an assurance that Congress was powerless to authorize restraints in advance of publication. On this point the evidence for the period from 1787 to 1791 is uniform and nonpartisan. For example, Hugh Williamson of North Carolina, a Federalist signatory of the Constitution, used freedom of the press in Blackstonian or common-law terms,<sup>26</sup> as did Melancthon Smith of New York, an Antifederalist. Demanding a free press guarantee in the new federal Constitution, despite the fact that New York's constitution lacked that guarantee, Smith argued that freedom of the press was "fully defined and secured" in New York by "the common and statute law of England" and that a state constitutional provision was therefore unnecessary.<sup>27</sup> No other definition of freedom of the press by anyone anywhere in America before 1798 has been discovered. Apparently there was, before that time, no dissent from the proposition that the punishment of a seditious libeler did not abridge the proper or lawful freedom of the press.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>24</sup> *Debates*, ed. Elliot, III, 656.

<sup>25</sup> See note 18, above.

<sup>26</sup> "There was a time in England when neither book, pamphlet, nor paper could be published without a license from government. That restraint was finally removed in the year 1694; and, by such removal, the press became perfectly free, for it is not under the restraint of any license. Certainly the new government can have no power to impose restraints." (Hugh Williamson, "Remarks on the New Plan of Government," in *Essays on the Constitution of the United States, Published during Its Discussion by the People*, ed. Paul Leicester Ford [Brooklyn, N. Y., 1892], 398.)

<sup>27</sup> Melancthon Smith, "An Address to the People of the State of New York" (1788), in *Pamphlets on the Constitution of the United States, Published during Its Discussion by the People*, ed. Paul Leicester Ford (Brooklyn, N. Y., 1888), 114.

<sup>28</sup> The brief and vague statement by Eleazar Oswald in 1788 may be regarded by some as an exception to this proposition. Oswald, having been indicted for a criminal libel on a private party, published an address to the public in which he stated: "The doctrine of libel being a doctrine incompatible with law and liberty, and at once destructive of the privileges of a free

That freedom was so narrowly understood that its constitutional protection did not, per se, preclude the enactment of a sedition law. The security of the state against libelous attack was always and everywhere regarded as outweighing any social interest in completely unfettered discussion. The thought and experience of a lifetime, indeed the taught traditions of law and politics extending back many generations, supplied an unquestioned assumption that freedom of political discourse, however broadly conceived, stopped short of seditious libel.

The injunction of the First Amendment, nevertheless, was not intended to imply that a sedition act might be enacted without abridging "the freedom of the press." A sedition act would not be an abridgment, but that was not the point of the amendment. To understand its framers' intentions, the amendment should not be read with the focus on the meaning of "the freedom of the press." It should not, in other words, be read merely to mean that Congress could impose no prior restraints. It should be read, rather, with the stress on the opening clause: "Congress shall make no law. . . ." The injunction was intended and understood to prohibit any congressional regulation of the press, whether by means of a licensing law, a tax, or a sedition act. The framers meant Congress to be totally without power to enact legislation respecting the press. They intended a federal system in which the central government could exercise only such powers as were specifically enumerated or were necessary and proper to carry out the enumerated ones. Thus James Wilson declared that, because the national government had "no power whatsoever" concerning the press, "no law . . . can possibly be enacted" against it. Thus Hamilton, referring to the demand for a free press guarantee, asked, "why declare that things shall not be done which there is no power to do?"<sup>29</sup> The illustrations may be multiplied fiftyfold. In other words, no matter what was meant or understood by freedom of speech and press, the national government, *even in the absence of the First Amendment*, could not make speech or press a legitimate subject of restrictive legislation. The amendment itself was superfluous. To quiet public apprehension, it offered an added assurance that Congress would be limited to the exercise of its delegated powers. The phrasing was intended to prohibit the possibility that those powers might be used to abridge speech and press. From this viewpoint, the Sedition Act of 1798 was unconstitutional.

That act was also unnecessary as a matter of law, however necessary as

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country, in the communication of our thoughts, has not hitherto gained any footing in *Pennsylvania*. . . ." (Quoted in *Respublica v. Oswald*, 1 Dallas 319, at 320 [1788].)

<sup>29</sup> Wilson's statement in the Pennsylvania ratifying convention, quoted in *Pennsylvania and the Federal Constitution*, ed. McMaster and Stone, 308; Hamilton in *The Federalist*, No. 84.

a matter of Federalist party policy. It was unnecessary because the federal courts exercised jurisdiction over nonstatutory or common-law crimes against the United States. At the Pennsylvania ratifying convention James Wilson declared that, while Congress could enact no law against the press, a libel against the United States might be prosecuted in the state where the offense was committed, under Article III, Section 2, of the Constitution which refers to the judicial power of the United States.<sup>30</sup> A variety of common-law crimes against the United States were, in fact, tried in the federal courts during the first decade of their existence.<sup>31</sup> There were, in the federal courts, even a couple of common-law indictments for the crime of seditious libel.<sup>32</sup> All the early Supreme Court judges, including several who had been influential in the Philadelphia Convention, or in the state ratifying conventions, or in the Congress that passed the Judiciary Act of 1789, assumed the existence of a federal common law of crimes.<sup>33</sup> Ironically, it was a case originating as a federal prosecution of Connecticut editors for seditious libels against President Jefferson that finally resulted in a ruling by a divided Supreme Court in 1812 that there was no federal common law of crimes.<sup>34</sup>

There was unquestionably a federal common law of crimes at the time of the Sedition Act. Why then was the act passed if it was not legally needed? Even in England, where the criminal courts exercised an unquestioned jurisdiction over seditious libels, it was politically advisable in the 1790's to de-

<sup>30</sup> In my book, *Legacy of Suppression*, I missed the significance of the reference to Article III, Section 2, and therefore misconstrued Wilson's statement to mean that criminal libels against the United States could be tried only in the *state* courts. I am indebted to Professor John J. Cound for calling attention to my error in his review, *New York University Law Review*, XXXVI (Jan. 1961), 256-57. The corrected reading of Wilson's statement strengthens the thesis of the book regarding the restrictive views of the framers.

<sup>31</sup> "Trial of Joseph Ravara" (1792), in *State Trials*, ed. Wharton, 90-92; "Trial of Gideon Henfield" (1793), in *ibid.*, 49-92; *US v. Worrall*, 2 Dallas 384 (1798), in *ibid.*, 188-99; "Trial of the Northampton Insurgents" (1799), in *ibid.*, 476; "Trial of Isaac Williams" (1799), in *ibid.*, 652-54. See also *US v. Smith* (1797), MSS Final Record of the United States Circuit Courts of Massachusetts, 1790-99, I, 242, 244 (Federal Records Center, Dorchester, Mass.). Smith's case is reported in 27 *Federal Cases*, No. 16323, where the date is erroneously given as 1792. Justice Samuel Chase in Worrall's case, mentioned above, disagreed with his associate, Judge Richard Peters, who supported the jurisdiction of the federal courts in cases of common-law crime. Chase, however, changed his opinion in *US v. Sylvester* (1799), MSS Final Record, I, 303, an unreported case.

<sup>32</sup> A federal grand jury in Richmond presented Congressman Samuel J. Cabell for seditious libel in 1797. Prosecutions for seditious libel were also begun against Benjamin F. Bache of the Philadelphia *Aurora* and John Daly Burk of the New York *Time Piece* in 1798, shortly before the enactment of the Sedition Act. See Smith, *Freedom's Fetters*, 95, 183-84, 188-220.

<sup>33</sup> Supreme Court justices known to have accepted jurisdiction in cases of common-law crimes included James Wilson, Oliver Ellsworth, William Paterson, John Jay, James Iredell, and Samuel Chase. See cases mentioned in note 31, above.

<sup>34</sup> *US v. Hudson and Goodwin*, 7 Cranch 32, at 34 (1812). Justice William Johnson, speaking for the "majority," gave an unreasoned opinion. The case had been decided without arguments of counsel. William W. Crosskey, *Politics and the Constitution* (2 vols., Chicago, 1953), II, 782, claims that Chief Justice Marshall and Justices Story and Washington dissented from Johnson's opinion without noting the fact of their dissent on the record.

clare public policy in unmistakable terms by the enactment of sedition statutes.<sup>85</sup> Legislation helped ensure effective enforcement of the law and stirred public opinion against its intended victims. The Federalists, hoping to control public opinion and elections, emulated the British model. A federal statute was expedient also because the Republicans insisted that libels against the United States might be tried only by the state courts.

This suggests another original purpose of the First Amendment. It has been said that a constitutional guarantee of a free press did not, in itself, preclude a sedition act, but that the prohibition on Congress did, though leaving the federal courts free to try cases of seditious libel. It now appears that the prohibition on Congress was motivated far less by a desire to give immunity to political expression than by a solicitude for states' rights and the federal principle. The primary purpose of the First Amendment was to reserve to the states an exclusive legislative authority in the field of speech and press.

This is clear enough from the countless states' rights arguments advanced by the Antifederalists during the ratification controversy, and it is explicit in the Republican arguments during the controversy over the Sedition Act. In the House debates on the bill, Albert Gallatin, Edward Livingston, John Nicholas, and Nathaniel Macon all agreed—to quote Macon on the subject of liberty of the press: “The States have complete power on the subject. . . .”<sup>86</sup> Jefferson's Kentucky Resolutions of 1798 expressed the same proposition,<sup>87</sup> as did Madison's “Address of the General Assembly to the People of the Commonwealth of Virginia” in 1799.<sup>88</sup>

It is possible that the opponents of the Sedition Act did not want or believe in state prosecutions, but argued for an exclusive state power over political libels because such an argument was tactically useful as a means of denying national jurisdiction, judicial or legislative. If so, how shall we explain the Republican prosecution in New York in 1803 against Harry Crosswell, a Federalist editor, for a seditious libel against President Jeffer-

<sup>85</sup> On the English legislation of the 1790's, see Sir Thomas Erskine May, *The Constitutional History of England since the Accession of George Third, 1760-1860* (2 vols., New York, 1880), II, 161-74. The parliamentary debates and the texts of the Treasonable Practices Act and of the Sedition Act of 1795, known together as “The Two Acts,” were published in London in 1796 under the title *The History of the Two Acts* and were imported into the United States and advertised under the title *History of the Treason and Sedition Bills lately passed in Great Britain*. For the influence of the English experience and legislation on Federalist thought, see Manning J. Dauer, *The Adams Federalists* (Baltimore, 1953), 157-59.

<sup>86</sup> *Annals of Congress*, 5 Cong., 2 sess., 2152 (July 10, 1798); see also *ibid.*, Gallatin at 2163, Nicholas at 2142, and Livingston at 2153.

<sup>87</sup> *Debates*, ed. Elliot, IV, 540-41.

<sup>88</sup> *The Writings of James Madison*, ed. Gaillard Hunt (9 vols., New York, 1900-10), VI, 333-34.

son?<sup>39</sup> How shall we explain the Blackstonian opinions of the Republican judges in that case?<sup>40</sup> How shall we explain Jefferson's letter to the governor of Pennsylvania in the same year? The President, enclosing a newspaper piece that unmercifully attacked him, urged a "few prosecutions" because they "would have a wholesome effect in restoring the integrity of the presses."<sup>41</sup> How shall we explain Jefferson's letter to Abigail Adams in 1804 in which he said: "While we deny that Congress have a right to controul the freedom of the press, we have ever asserted the right of the states, and their exclusive right to do so."<sup>42</sup> And if exclusive state power was advanced not as a principle but as a tactic for denying federal jurisdiction, how shall we explain what Jefferson's opponents called his "reign of terror":<sup>43</sup> the common-law indictments in 1806 in the United States Circuit Court in Connecticut against six men charged with seditious libel of the President?<sup>44</sup> How shall we explain his letter of 1807 in which he said of the "prosecutions in the Court of the U S" that they could "not lessen the useful freedom of the press," if truth were admitted as a defense?<sup>45</sup>

Earlier, in 1798, the Federalists had also felt that the true freedom of the press would benefit if truth—their truth—were the measure of freedom.

<sup>39</sup> *People v. Croswell*, 3 Johnson's (N. Y.) Cases 336 (1804).

<sup>40</sup> Chief Justice Morgan Lewis, joined by Judge Brockholst Livingston, whom Jefferson appointed to the United States Supreme Court in 1806, explicitly defined freedom of the press in common-law terms, relying on Blackstone and Mansfield for precedents. Ambrose Spencer, a Republican newly appointed to the New York Court of Errors, disqualified himself because as attorney general he had represented the state in the Croswell case. Lewis' opinion was based on Spencer's argument. Hamilton defended Croswell, arguing Zengerian principles which were accepted by Judge James Kent, a Federalist, joined by Smith Thompson, a Republican who had studied law with Kent. In 1805 the state legislature enacted a bill allowing truth as a defense if published "with good motives and for justifiable ends," and allowing the jury to decide the whole issue. The statute is reported at 3 Johnson's (N. Y.) Cases 336, at 411-13, following the arguments of counsel and the opinions of Kent and Lewis.

<sup>41</sup> Jefferson to Governor Thomas McKean, Feb. 19, 1803, in *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. Paul Leicester Ford (10 vols., New York, 1892-99), VIII, 218-19.

<sup>42</sup> Jefferson to Abigail Adams, Sept. 4, 1804, in *ibid.*, 311. In the eloquent First Inaugural Address, Jefferson declared, in a deservedly much-quoted passage: "If there be any among us who would wish to dissolve this Union or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it." But in the Second Inaugural Address, he spoke of the "licentiousness" with which the "artillery of the press has been levelled against us," alleged that the "abuses" of the press lessened its "usefulness," and stated, "they might, indeed, have been corrected by the wholesome punishments reserved and provided by the laws of the several States against falsehood and defamation. . . ." He declared that the pressure of public duties prevent prosecution of the offenders and that his re-election demonstrated that the people could be trusted to choose truth in a conflict with falsehood. But he added, "No inference is here intended, that the laws, provided by the State against false and defamatory publications, should not be enforced; he who has time, renders a service to public morals and public tranquility, in reforming these abuses by the salutary coercions of the law. . . ." (*ibid.*, VIII, 346.)

<sup>43</sup> "Hamden," *A Letter to the President of the United States, Touching the Prosecutions under His Patronage, before the Circuit Court in the District of Connecticut* (New Haven, Conn., 1808), 28.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 8-12.

<sup>45</sup> Jefferson to Thomas Seymour, Feb. 11, 1807, in *Writings of Jefferson*, ed. Ford, IX, 30.

Their infamous Sedition Act, in the phrase of Gilbert and Sullivan, was the true embodiment of everything excellent. It was, that is, the very epitome of libertarian thought since the time of Zenger's case, proving that American libertarianism went from Zengerian principles to the Sedition Act in a single degeneration. Everything that the libertarians had ever demanded was, however, incorporated in the Sedition Act: a requirement that criminal intent be shown; the power of the jury to decide whether the accused's statement was libelous as a matter of law as well as of fact; and truth as a defense—an innovation not accepted in England until 1843.<sup>46</sup> By every standard the Sedition Act was a great victory for libertarian principles of freedom of the press—except that libertarian standards abruptly changed because the Republicans immediately recognized a Pyrrhic victory.

The Sedition Act provoked them to develop a new libertarian theory. It began to emerge when Congressmen Albert Gallatin, John Nicholas, Nathaniel Macon, and Edward Livingston argued against the enactment of the sedition bill.<sup>47</sup> It was further developed by defense counsel, most notably George Blake, in Sedition Act prosecutions.<sup>48</sup> It reached its most reflective and systematic expression in tracts and books which are now unfortunately rare and little known even by historians. The main body of original Republican thought on the scope, meaning, and rationale of the First Amendment is to be found in George Hay's tract, *An Essay on the Liberty of the Press*;<sup>49</sup> in Madison's *Report* on the Virginia Resolutions for the Virginia House of Delegates;<sup>50</sup> in the book *A Treatise Concerning Political Enquiry, and*

<sup>46</sup> Sir James Fitzjames Stephen, *A History of the Criminal Law of England* (3 vols., London, 1883), II, 383; Frank Thayer, *Legal Control of the Press* (Brooklyn, N. Y., 1950), 17, 25, 178.

<sup>47</sup> *Annals of Congress*, 5 Cong., 2 sess., 2103-11 (July 5, 1798); 2139-43, 2153-54, 2160-66 (July 10, 1798).

<sup>48</sup> Boston *Independent Chronicle*, Mar. 4-7, Apr. 8-15, Apr. 29-May 2, 1799, reporting the trial of Abijah Adams, editor of the *Chronicle*, for seditious libel against the state legislature of Massachusetts.

<sup>49</sup> George Hay ["Hortensius"], *An Essay on the Liberty of the Press. Respectfully Inscribed to the Republican Printers throughout the United States* (reprint, Richmond, Va., 1803). In 1803 Hay also published a different tract with a similar title, *An Essay on the Liberty of the Press, Shewing, That the Requisition of Security for Good Behaviour from Libellers, is Perfectly Compatible with the Constitution and Laws of Virginia* (Richmond, Va., 1803). Hay, who was Monroe's son-in-law, served in the Virginia House of Delegates, was appointed United States attorney for Virginia by President Jefferson, conducted the prosecution of Burr for treason, and concluded his public career as a United States district judge.

<sup>50</sup> The *Report* originally appeared as a tract of over eighty pages. The copy in the Langdell Treasure Room, Harvard Law Library, is bound together with the 1799 issue of Hay's *Essay*. Madison wrote the *Report* at the close of 1799; it was adopted by the Virginia legislature on January 11, 1800, which immediately published it. It is reproduced in *Debates*, ed. Elliot, IV, 546-80, under the title "Madison's Report on the Virginia Resolutions . . . Report of the Committee to whom were referred the Communications of various States, relative to the Resolutions of the last General Assembly of this State, concerning the Alien and Sedition Laws." The *Report* is also available in *Writings of Madison*, ed. Hunt, VI, 341-406. The edition cited here is *The Virginia Report of 1799-1800, Touching the Alien and Sedition Laws; together*



the *Liberty of the Press*, by Tunis Wortman of New York;<sup>51</sup> in John Thomson's book *An Enquiry, Concerning the Liberty, and Licentiousness of the Press*;<sup>52</sup> and in St. George Tucker's appendix to his edition of Blackstone's *Commentaries*,<sup>53</sup> a most significant place for the repudiation of Blackstone on the liberty of the press. Of these works, Wortman's philosophical book is pre-eminent; it is an American masterpiece, the only equivalent on this side of the Atlantic to Milton and Mill.

The new libertarians abandoned the strait-jacketing doctrines of Blackstone and the common law, including the recent concept of a federal common law of crimes. They scornfully denounced the no prior restraints definition. Said Madison: "this idea of the freedom of the press can never be admitted to be the American idea of it" because a law inflicting penalties would have the same effect as a law authorizing a prior restraint. "It would seem a mockery to say that no laws shall be passed preventing publications from being made, but that laws might be passed for punishing them in case they should be made."<sup>54</sup> As Hay put it, the "British definition" meant that a man might be jailed or even put to death for what he published provided that no notice was taken of him before he published.<sup>55</sup>

The old calculus for measuring the scope of freedom was also rejected by the new libertarians. "Liberty" of the press, for example, had always been

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with the *Virginia Resolutions of December 21, 1798, The Debates and Proceedings thereon, in the House of Delegates in Virginia* (Richmond, Va., 1850), 189-237, a book of great value for its inclusion of the Virginia debates on the Sedition Act (pp. 22-161). While those debates added little to the debates of the House of Representatives, the remarks of Republican speakers constitute another example of the new libertarianism.

<sup>51</sup> Tunis Wortman, *A Treatise Concerning Political Enquiry, and the Liberty of the Press* (New York, 1800). Wortman, one of the leading democratic theoreticians of his time, was a New York lawyer prominent in Tammany politics. From 1801 to 1807 he served as clerk of the city and county of New York. He was the author of several important tracts, one of which outlined a democratic philosophy of social reform, *An Oration on the Influence of Social Institutions upon Human Morals and Happiness* (New York, 1796), and another which was a leading defense of Jefferson against charges of atheism in the election of 1800. See *A Solemn Address, to Christians and Patriots, upon the approaching Election of a President of the United States* (New York, 1800). Gallatin supported the publication of Wortman's *Enquiry* by undertaking to secure subscriptions to the book among Republican members of Congress. (Wortman to Gallatin, Dec. 24, 30, 1799, Albert Gallatin Papers, 1799, Nos. 47, 49, New York Historical Society.) In 1813-14 Wortman published a newspaper in New York, the *Standard of Union*, to which Jefferson subscribed in the hope that it would counteract the "abandoned spirit of falsehood" of the newspapers of the country. (Jefferson to Wortman, Aug. 15, 1813, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Henry E. Huntington Library.)

<sup>52</sup> John Thomson, *An Enquiry, Concerning the Liberty, and Licentiousness of the Press* (New York, 1801). I have not been able to identify John Thomson.

<sup>53</sup> Sir William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, ed. St. George Tucker (5 vols., Philadelphia, 1803), I, pt. 2, n. G, 11-30 of Appendix. Tucker, a professor of law at William and Mary, was elected to the high court of Virginia in 1803. President Madison appointed him a United States district judge in 1813.

<sup>54</sup> [Madison,] *Virginia Report of 1799-1800*, 220.

<sup>55</sup> Hay, *Essay on the Liberty of the Press* (1803 ed. of the 1799 tract), 29; *Essay on the Liberty of the Press* (1803), 32. See note 49, above, for a distinction between the two tracts.

differentiated from "licentiousness," which was the object of the criminal law's sanctions. "Truth" and "facts" had always divided the realm of lawfulness from "falsehoods," and a similar distinction had been made between "good motives" and "criminal intent." All such distinctions were now discarded on grounds that they did not distinguish and, therefore, were not meaningful standards that might guide a jury or a court in judging an alleged verbal crime. The term "licentiousness," said Thomson, "is destitute of any meaning" and is used by those who wish "nobody to enjoy the liberty of the Press but such as were of their own opinion."<sup>56</sup> The term "malice," Wortman wrote, is invariably confused with mistaken zeal or prejudice.<sup>57</sup> It is merely an inference drawn from the supposed evil tendency of the publication itself, just a further means of punishing the excitement of unfavorable sentiments against the government even when the people's contempt of it was richly deserved. Punishment of "malice" or intent to defame the government, concluded Madison, necessarily strikes at the right of free discussion, because critics intend to excite unfavorable sentiments.<sup>58</sup> Finding criminality in the tendency of words was merely an attempt to erect public "tranquility . . . upon the ruins of Civil Liberty," said Wortman.<sup>59</sup>

Wholesale abandonment of the common law's limitations on the press was accompanied by a withering onslaught against the constrictions and subjectivity of Zengerian principles. The Sedition Act, Hay charged, "appears to be directed against falsehood and malice only; in fact . . . there are many truths, important to society, which are not susceptible of that full, direct, and positive evidence, which alone can be exhibited before a court and a jury."<sup>60</sup> If, argued Gallatin, the administration prosecuted a citizen for his opinion that the Sedition Act itself was unconstitutional, would not a jury, composed of the friends of that administration, find the opinion "ungrounded, or, in other words, false and scandalous, and its publication malicious? And by what kind of argument or evidence, in the present temper of parties, could the accused convince them that his opinions were true?"<sup>61</sup> The truth of opinions, the new libertarians concluded, could not be proved. Allowing "truth" as a defense and thinking it to be a protection for freedom, Thomson declared, made as much sense as letting a jury decide which was "the most palatable food, agreeable drink, or beautiful color."<sup>62</sup> A jury, he asserted,

<sup>56</sup> Thomson, *Enquiry, Concerning the Liberty, and Licentiousness of the Press*, 6-7.

<sup>57</sup> Wortman, *Treatise Concerning Political Enquiry*, 173.

<sup>58</sup> [Madison,] *Virginia Report of 1799-1800*, 226-27.

<sup>59</sup> Wortman, *Treatise Concerning Political Enquiry*, 253.

<sup>60</sup> Hay, *Essay on the Liberty of the Press* (1803 ed. of 1799 tract), 28.

<sup>61</sup> *Annals of Congress*, 5 Cong., 2 sess., 2162 (July 10, 1798).

<sup>62</sup> Thomson, *Enquiry, Concerning the Liberty, and Licentiousness of the Press*, 68.



cannot give an impartial verdict in political trials. The result, agreed Madison, is that the "baleful tendency" of prosecutions for seditious libel "is little diminished by the privilege of giving in evidence the truth of the matter contained in political writings."<sup>63</sup>

The renunciation of traditional concepts reached its climax in the assault on the very idea that there was a crime of seditious libel. That crime, Wortman concluded, could "never be reconciled to the genius and constitution of a Representative Commonwealth."<sup>64</sup> He and the others constructed a new libertarianism that was genuinely radical because it broke sharply with the past and advocated an absolute freedom of political expression. One of their major tenets was that a free government cannot be criminally attacked by the opinions of its citizens. Hay, for example, insisted that freedom of the press, like chastity, was either "absolute"<sup>65</sup> or did not exist. Abhorring the idea of verbal political crimes, he declared that a citizen should have a right to "say everything which his passions suggest; he may employ all his time, and all his talents, if he is wicked enough to do so, in speaking against the government matters that are false, scandalous and malicious."<sup>66</sup> He should be "safe within the sanctuary of the press" even if he "condemns the principle of republican institutions. . . . If he censures the measures of our government, and every department and officer thereof, and ascribes the measures of the former, however salutary, and the conduct of the latter, however upright, to the basest motives; even if he ascribes to them measures and acts, which never had existence; thus violating at once, every principle of decency and truth."<sup>67</sup>

In brief the new libertarians advocated that only "injurious conduct," as manifested by "overt acts" or deeds, rather than words, might be criminally redressable.<sup>68</sup> They did not refine this proposition except to recognize that the law of libel should continue to protect private reputations against malicious falsehoods. They did not even recognize that under certain circumstances words may immediately and directly incite criminal acts.

This absolutist interpretation of the First Amendment was based on the now familiar but then novel and democratic theory that free government depends for its existence and security on freedom of political discourse. According to this theory, the scope of the amendment is determined by the

<sup>63</sup> [Madison,] *Virginia Report of 1799-1800*, 226.

<sup>64</sup> Wortman, *Treatise Concerning Political Enquiry*, 262.

<sup>65</sup> Hay, *Essay on the Liberty of the Press* (1803 ed. of 1799 tract), 23-24.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 25.

<sup>67</sup> Hay, *Essay on the Liberty of the Press* (1803 tract), 29.

<sup>68</sup> Wortman, *Treatise Concerning Political Enquiry*, 140, 253; Thomson, *Enquiry, Concerning the Liberty, and Licentiousness of the Press*, 79.

nature of the government and its relationship to the people. Since the government is their servant, exists by their consent and for their benefit, and is constitutionally limited, responsible, and elective, it cannot, said Thomson, tell the citizen, "You shall not think this, or that upon certain subjects; or if you do, it is at your peril."<sup>69</sup> The concept of seditiousness, it was argued, could exist only in a relationship based on inferiority, when people are subjects rather than sovereigns and their criticism implies contempt of their master. "In the United States," Madison declared, "the case is altogether different."<sup>70</sup> Coercion or abridgment of unlimited political opinion, Wortman explained, would violate the very "principles of the social state," by which he meant a government of the people.<sup>71</sup> Because such a government depended upon popular elections, all the new libertarians agreed that the widest possible latitude must be maintained to keep the electorate free, informed, and capable of making intelligent choices. The citizen's freedom of political expression had the same scope as the legislator's, and for the same reasons.<sup>72</sup> That freedom might be dangerously abused, but the people would decide men and measures wisely if exposed to every opinion.

This brief summary of the new libertarianism scarcely does justice to its complexity, but suggests its boldness, originality, and democratic character.<sup>73</sup> It developed, to be sure, as an expediency of self-defense on the part of a besieged political minority struggling to maintain its existence and right to function unfettered. But it established virtually all at once and in nearly perfect form a theory justifying the rights of individual expression and of opposition parties. That the Jeffersonians in power did not always adhere

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 22.

<sup>70</sup> [Madison,] *Virginia Report of 1799-1800*, 222.

<sup>71</sup> Wortman, *Treatise Concerning Political Enquiry*, 29.

<sup>72</sup> Thomson, *Enquiry, Concerning the Liberty, and Licentiousness of the Press*, 20, 22; Hay, *Essay on the Liberty of the Press* (1803 ed. of 1799 tract), 26.

<sup>73</sup> "Originality" refers to the American scene. American libertarian thought lagged behind its British counterpart which very likely provided a model for the Republicans in the same way that British thought advocating suppression influenced Federalist opinion. For British precursors of the new American libertarianism, see "Father of Candor," *A Letter Concerning Libels, Warrants, the Seizure of Papers, and Sureties for the Peace of Behaviour* (7th ed., London, 1771), 20, 34, 71, 161; Ebenezer Ratcliffe, *Two Letters Addressed to the Right Rev. Prelates* (London, 1773), 100; Andrew Kippis, *A Vindication of the Protestant Dissenting Ministers* (London, 1773), 98-99; Francis Maseres, *An Enquiry into the Extent of the Power of Juries* (1776) (Dublin, 1792), 6, 13, 18, 22, 24, 28; Jeremy Bentham, *A Fragment on Government* (London 1776), 154; Capel Lofft, *An Essay on the Law of Libels* (London, 1785), 60-61; James Adair, *Discussions of the Law of Libels as at Present Received* (London, 1785), 27-28; Manasseh Dawes, *The Deformity of the Doctrine of Libels, and Informations Ex-Officio* (London, 1785), 11-24, 28; the celebrated argument of Thomas Erskine in defense of Tom Paine, in a trial for seditious libel, 1792, published as a contemporary tract and available in *Speeches of Thomas Lord Erskine, Reprinted from the Five Volume Octavo Edition of 1810*, ed. Edward Walford (2 vols., London, 1870), I, 309, 313; Robert Hall, "An Apology for the Freedom of the Press and for General Liberty" (1793) in *The Miscellaneous Works and Remains of the Reverend Robert Hall*, ed. John Foster (London, 1846), 172-79.

to their new principles does not diminish the enduring nobility and rightness of those principles. It proves only that the Jeffersonians set the highest standards of freedom for themselves and posterity to be measured against. Their legacy was the idea that there is an indispensable condition for the development of free men in a free society: the state must be bitted and bridled by a bill of rights which is to be construed in the most generous terms and whose protections are not to be the playthings of momentary majorities.

# The *Risorgimento* between Ideology and History: The Political Myth of *rivoluzione mancata*

A. WILLIAM SALOMONE\*

THE close of centenary evocations marking the unification of Italy may well go down in the annals of Italian historical writing as the conclusion of the last battle of the *Risorgimento*. It is true that in 1970 there will be the twentieth of September and Rome to remember. But it seems relatively safe to say that the historians' battles over these tactical objectives have already been fought rather fiercely on other fields with other arms than those of the battle over Italy. As it is, therefore, the commemorative spell that ended in 1961 may have registered a turning point in a crucial battle of ideas. There are, at any rate, clear signs that the waning has begun of the most recent conflict between a "classic" tradition and a multiform critique in the interpretation of the *Risorgimento* and, a posteriori, of the Liberal aftermath to the crisis of a historic experiment and the dreary agony of an Italian era. Whatever the shadings and the emphases of particulars on each side, the heart of the great historiographical debate, the central question at issue, can now be clearly identified as having involved opposing views on the problem of freedom in the *Risorgimento* and in the development of the Italian unitary state from Cavour to Giolitti and thence to the coming of Fascism.<sup>1</sup>

I have no intention of presenting here a full-fledged, formal review of recent Italian historical writing on the *Risorgimento* and the Liberal state. In fact, some of the most constructive contributions of that historiography are hardly mentioned because many belong to a "purer" scholarly and professional sphere outside and frequently above the terms of reference of the essential problem treated here. This essay is an attempt to call attention to the ideological aspects of a historiographical problem which, at least by implication, assumed significant political dimensions and moral overtones. Brief and sketchy as it must be, this preliminary study may possibly suggest an

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<sup>1</sup> See Nino Valeri, "Premessa ad una storia dell'Italia nel postrisorgimento," in Gabriele Pepe et al., *Orientamenti per la storia d'Italia nel Risorgimento* (Bari, 1952), 53-54.

approach to some very subtle vicissitudes in the intellectual history of contemporary Italy. The study of the use and abuse of history at a time of grave political crises and ideological dissension, which Italians and other Europeans of this generation have undergone, may at least help toward a further understanding of the historian's perennial dilemma. A dilemma that springs, among other things, from the unique opportunity of reconstructing or manipulating the past thus involves the necessity of fidelity to his craft and the demands of commitment to a cause, a faith, an idea he cannot disown.

The Crocean vision of a century of Italian history as a heroic chapter in modern Europe's epic "story of liberty" has been challenged and subjected to a deadly cross fire of opposing "realist" critiques—nationalist, Fascist, democratic, Marxist—for so long and to such an extent as to make it appear, in the eyes of its critics, an anachronism, the faded document of a *Weltanschauung* that is no more.<sup>2</sup> A massive revisionist trend, with essentially anti-Crocean emphasis, has characterized the most recent historical writing on the construction of the Italian national state, on the unitary movement, on the entire post-*Risorgimento* until it seemed for a time as if Cavour, the hero of Croce's *Storia d'Europa*, and Giolitti, the hero of his *Storia d'Italia*, and all their work would have to be considered among the greatest calamities in modern Italian history.<sup>3</sup> Modishly subdued in tone and studiously sophisticated in approach and style, a seductive quasi-historical literature assailed the citadel of classic orthodoxies on the *Risorgimento*, gained the field, and won promiscuous and often vociferous applause.

The wave of reinterpretation, whose crest, as will be further pointed out, was ridden by neo-Marxist historians and intellectuals, at once helped create and merged with an even wider vogue of cultural and professional iconoclasm that had, almost self-evidently, more practical sources and immediate

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 58–84 *et passim*. For some of the stages of the anti-Crocean revolt, see Gioacchino Volpe, *L'Italia in cammino: L'ultimo cinquantennio* (3d ed., Milan, 1931), ix–xxviii; Federico Chabod, "Croce storico," *Rivista storica italiana*, LXIV (No. 4, 1952), 515–22; Michele Abbate, *La filosofia di Benedetto Croce e la crisi della società italiana* (Turin, 1955), 9–24, 72–92, *et passim*; A. William Salomone, "Ritorno all'Italia giolittiana: Salvemini e Giolitti tra la politica e la storia," *Rassegna storica del Risorgimento*, XLVI (Nos. 2–3, 1959), 174–75, n. 3, 193–96.

<sup>3</sup> For brief reviews of recent *Risorgimento* historiography, see Walter Maturi, "Gli studi di storia moderna e contemporanea," *Cinquant'anni di vita intellettuale italiana, 1896–1946: Scritti in onore di Benedetto Croce*, ed. Carlo Antoni and Raffaele Mattioli (2 vols., Naples, 1950), I, 257–75; *id.*, "Les États italiens," in Max Beloff *et al.*, *L'Europe du XIX<sup>e</sup> et du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle—1815–1870: Problèmes et interprétations historiques* (2 vols., Milan, 1959), II, 688–703; the bibliographical notes following each of the published volumes of Giorgio Candeloro, *Storia dell'Italia moderna* (3 vols., Milan, 1956–60), I, 377–428; II, 423–57; III, 491–518. An outstanding "anti-Cavourian" revisionist thesis was presented by Denis Mack Smith, *Cavour and Garibaldi 1860: A Study in Political Conflict* (Cambridge, Eng., 1954); it was interestingly countered, among others, by Ettore Passerin d'Entrèves, *L'ultima battaglia politica di Cavour: I problemi dell'unificazione italiana* (Turin, 1956).

aims than the arduous search for "pure" historical truth.<sup>4</sup> That, in an important sense, what was involved among certain sectors of the Italian intelligentsia amounted to a genuine, for some an acute, crisis of conscience can hardly be denied. The personal and direct experiences, through peace and war, of a number of Italian intellectuals who had recoiled from the immorality of the doctrines of Fascism and had resisted and fought against the totalitarian corruption of history, impelled some of the best among them toward a restoration of elementary human and historical values. During the immediate postwar period, from within the most sensitive intellectual quarters in Italy, came excellent examples of a renewed dedication to "uncommitted" historiographical endeavor, to a quest for newer approaches to traditional problems, frequently through practical refinements of the theory and methodology of historical study beyond the beaten paths of the "classic models" of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, certain cadres of the Italian intelligentsia, operating upon premises that often seemed obscure in origin, but were quite patent in motivation, set the predominant tone and style of revisionist historical literature. Thus attachment to a partisan cause, political self-interest, journalistic opportunism, and, if infrequently, plain ingenuousness led to mercurial oscillations in intellectual commitment and ideological temper, depending occasionally on the rise and fall of the political temperature registered in Italy and in Europe by the vicissitudes of the contemporary struggle for power.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> See Rosario Romeo, *Risorgimento e capitalismo* (Bari, 1959), 9-12, 17-24, 52-89, *et passim*. For a survey of Italian intellectual and cultural life during the first postwar decade, see Mario Sansone, "La cultura," in Achille Battaglia *et al.*, *Dieci anni dopo, 1945-1955: Saggi sulla vita democratica italiana* (Bari, 1955), 517-98. Excellent essays on fundamental Italian problems under the Republic have been collected in *Storia e miti del '900: Antologia di critica storica*, ed. Armando Saitta (Bari, 1961), 839-959. See also the perceptive commentaries on Italian civil, religious, and moral life after 1945 in Arturo Carlo Jemolo, *Società civile e società religiosa, 1955-1958* (Turin, 1959), particularly pts. 4-5, 297 ff.; Gaetano Salvemini, *Italia scombinata* (Turin, 1959). On the history and on the postwar organization and moods of the Italian Left, see the two works by Giorgio Galli, *La Sinistra italiana nel dopoguerra* (Bologna, 1959) and *Storia del Partito Comunista Italiano* (Milan, 1958), particularly pt. 3, 215 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Among the most outstanding examples were the fine works by Federico Chabod, Franco Venturi, Nino Valeri, A. C. Jemolo, Rosario Romeo, Leo Valiani, and Giorgio Spini. The later books by some Marxist or former Marxist historians revealed an interesting tendency away from rigid dogmatism; see particularly Alberto Caracciolo, *Stato e società civile: Problemi dell'unificazione italiana* (Turin, 1960); Salvatore Francesco Romano, *Storia dei Fasci Siciliani* (Bari, 1959); Rosario Villari, *Mezzogiorno e contadini nell'età moderna* (Bari, 1961). The work in progress of the editorial board of the *Documenti diplomatici italiani* might be included among the potentially renovating forces in Italian historiography.

<sup>6</sup> Romeo, *Risorgimento e capitalismo*, 10-11, speaks of the *commissioni* between cultural and political factors and of the quick *conversioni* to Marxism and then calls attention to "lo storicismo di coloro che ad ogni tratto si son precipitati a trarre deduzioni di carattere universale dall'esito di un'elezione politica, . . . a meditare sul destino dell'eredità culturale dell'ormai condannato Occidente ispirandosi all'ovvio confronto con la caduta dell'impero romano, a mobilitare l'arte contro la 'barbarie,' a cantare il *de profundis* sulla secolare democrazia americana a ogni nuovo exploit di un Joe McCarthy, a indicare in Palmiro Togliatti il naturale e riconosciuto 'erede' di Benedetto Croce. . . ." See *ibid.*, 93-97, for Romeo's even stronger reiteration of the criticism

And yet, a careful analysis of the complicated Italian situation after 1945 reveals other, in a sense deeper, elements at work within the vogue of historical reinterpretation. As a matter of fact, the Crocean Liberal vision was swept by a more powerful force behind the revisionist trend. Fundamentally, this trend stemmed from the impact of indentifiably large historic events that have overtaken Italy and Europe since 1914.

In modern Italian history an "avalanche of events"—the Great War, the crisis of the Liberal state, the rise, rule, and ruin of Fascism, the Second World War, the resistance, the glimpses of revolutionary change, the establishment of a democratic republic, the new political struggle, the sway of Christian Democracy, the rise of Communism, the European unity movement, the cold war, and, withal, the protean persistence of big historic problems—has at once resulted in and been refracted through a "world view" basically compounded of moral disenchantment and new intellectual and moral ferment.<sup>7</sup> The new view seemed historiographically aimed at best to revisit calmly and at worst to refashion *ex novo* Italy's past in the light of that "avalanche of events" and of the old and new vital Italian problems. Thus, again, at best, a fruitful great debate was reopened, and, at worst, a sort of grim trial was mounted in connection with the *Risorgimento* and the history of the Italian unitary state, which was its most palpable political creature.<sup>8</sup> At least momentarily, the revisionist critique appeared to dominate the field in the guise of an indivisible and irreversible "wave of the future" in historical thought and writing on modern Italy.<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless, the Italian

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in the light of the impact upon some members of the Italian Communist intelligentsia caused by the Hungarian revolution of 1956. For an acute philosophical analysis of contemporary Italian Marxist historiography, see Furio Diaz, *La storiografia di indirizzo marxista in Italia negli ultimi quindici anni* [reprinted from *Rivista critica di storia della filosofia*, III (1961)].

<sup>7</sup> See C. Vann Woodward, "The Age of Reinterpretation," *American Historical Review*, LXVI (Oct. 1960), 13, for an emphatic view that "an avalanche of events, or a combination of avalanches" since 1945 has opened up "what is probably the greatest of all opportunities for historical reinterpretation." On the Italian mood of expectation and disenchantment immediately following the liberation, see Charles F. Delzell, *Mussolini's Enemies: The Italian Anti-Fascist Resistance* (Princeton, N. J., 1961), 551-57; for the first decade after the end of the Second World War, see Sansone, "La cultura," 517. A passionate plea is made by Giorgio Spini, *Storia dell'età moderna: Dall'Impero di Carlo V all'Illuminismo* (Rome, 1960), v-xi, for a "new revisionism," a "new historicism," that seeks more courageously than the old to grapple with the elemental facts of human existence at a time when, following a great war, history itself stirs on "the abysses of death and folly."

<sup>8</sup> See Eva Omodeo Zona, "Il Risorgimento sotto processo," *Nord e Sud*, VIII (No. 18, 1961), 52-56; see also the reprint of a 1952 article entitled "La rivoluzione del ricco" by Gaetano Salvemini now in *Scritti sul Risorgimento*, ed. Piero Pieri and Carlo Pischedda (Milan, 1961), 457-71.

<sup>9</sup> See an analysis of the historiographical controversy that raged most violently from 1949 to 1952 regarding the character and interpretation of pre-1914 Italian democracy in my *Italy in the Giolittian Era: Italian Democracy in the Making, 1900-1914* (Philadelphia, 1960), 117-53 *et passim*.



historiographical critique of the *Risorgimento* and the Liberal state was far from being a single bloc either in origin or in significance.

Reduced to its barest and possibly to its crudest essentials, that massive revisionist literature seems to have addressed itself to a subtle mixture of valid, half-authentic, and false historical problems which, for practical purposes, might be schematically summarized in the following questions: Could the traditional idea of the *Risorgimento* as a genuine liberation movement still be accepted historically? Was not a sort of original sin stamped upon the spirit of Italian liberalism at the cradle of the *Risorgimento*, which properly damned that liberalism to perverse growth and deserved perdition? Were there no real alternatives to the Cavourian solution of the Italian national problem? Was not the Italian liberals' claim to have made Italy in the likeness and image of European concepts of freedom merely the *sacro egoismo* of an authoritarian, class-conscious elite of landed magnates, upper-bourgeois "rich men," and the influential professional and intellectual classes? Had not the lower classes been simply used and exploited and then forgotten or excluded in the wake of a national spoils system that had been instituted under the pretext of the independence, unity, and liberty of Italy? Had not the Liberal state been enveloped in a pseudoparliamentary regime aimed merely at perpetuating the rule of an essentially illiberal oligarchy which occasionally changed the guard at the castle gate as a choreographical disguise for its retention of the inner citadel of Italian political power? Had there not been a dark thread of corruption and self-seeking that held the Italian ruling class together through the perversion of legitimate party alliances—a thread running straight from the Cavourian *connubio* and the Right's *consorteria* through the Left's *trasformismo* and *giolittismo* to Fascism itself? Had an Italian democratic society ever broken through the incorrigibly miasmatic immorality of Italian political life during the entire Liberal era? Did not an "organic solution" to the chronicle of economic and social troubles represented by the history of modern Italy, particularly since the *Risorgimento*, actually exist both in theory and in practice? Could the expectation be plausibly entertained that a "real," a "hot," revolution would be achieved in Italy to break at long last the black magic spell of the monotonous series of "cold" revolutions that had characterized the history of Italy?<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Under the ten "questions" or rubrics I have obviously summarized and schematized an impossibly large body of revisionist literature which would turn this note into a full-fledged review article if each point and its documentation had to be fully presented and analyzed. The following references, therefore, are essentially, though not exclusively, to bibliographical orientations: Valeri, "Premessa ad una storia," 53–85; Romeo, *Risorgimento e capitalismo*, 52–89; Ugo Azzoni, "L'Italia dopo l'Unità," *Itinerari*, IV (Nos. 22–23–24, 1956), 562–66. On the postwar

To document fully or to comment properly, to try to confute or to elaborate upon any or all parts of this schematic summation of the Italian, and partly non-Italian, revisionist critique would obviously require a counter-critique of exceedingly large dimensions certainly beyond present requirements or even necessity. Certain common features characterize a large, self-evident part of this historiographical "bill of indictment" of the *Risorgimento* and of the liberal efforts at reconstruction. A mood of obvious presentism runs with an exquisitely anti-Crocean irony through most of it, an exaggerated and exaggerating propensity to read the Italian past backward in order to project the present forward to an expected or desired future break in historical continuity. A legitimate curiosity as to how and why certain things did not happen in nineteenth-century Italy lies at the base of some of these questions, while some others derive from pure and simple sensation-mongering and a morbid "private-eye" mentality. Occasionally, one glimpses inquisitorial fanaticism behind the mask of objective inquisitiveness. A "hanging judge" lurked somewhere in the wings as the *Risorgimento* was put on trial. At any rate, some of these revisionist critiques, whether designedly or implicitly, tended to leave the *Risorgimento* and the Liberal state suspended somewhere between the pole of nostalgia for a pseudo-Arcadian *ancien régime* and that of the myth of a revolutionary "heavenly city."<sup>11</sup>

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fruition of polemical literature on the Giolittian era, see Nino Valeri, "Giovanni Giolitti nella storiografia del secondo dopoguerra" in *Questioni di storia del Risorgimento e dell'Unità d'Italia*, ed. Ettore Rota (Milan, 1951), 1009–22; on Salvemini's central function in the Giolittian controversy, see my *Italy in the Giolittian Era*, 133–53, and my article "Salvemini e Giolitti," *Rassegna storica toscana*, IV (No. 2, 1958), 121–51. For the origins and functions of antiparlamentarian critiques in Italy, see Mario Delle Piane, *Gaetano Mosca: Classe politica e liberalismo* (Naples, 1952), 9–46. See Leo Valiani, *Questioni di storia del socialismo* (Turin, 1958), 13–167, for the reprint of an exhaustive monograph on the literature published through two decades, 1937–57, on the Italian socialist movement to the eve of Fascism; Valiani offers a precious review of materials and references to the Italian socialist critiques of the *Risorgimento* and the Liberal state. With the "avalanche of events" in Italy since 1922 and an apparently moderate Marxist-Gramscian bias as the historical and methodological points of reference, respectively, behind his study, Massimo L. Salvadori, *Il mito del buongoverno: La questione meridionale da Cavour a Gramsci* (Turin, 1960), offers a very interesting new analysis of the older literature on the Italian "Question of the South" as a sort of "organic" critique of the Liberal *buongoverno*. For the reconstruction of three moments or phases of a very influential Italian Communist intellectual's approach to the historical question of the "agrarian revolution" from the *Risorgimento* to its last centenary year in 1961, see Emilio Sereni's three works: *La questione agraria nella rinascita nazionale* (Rome, 1946); *Il capitalismo nelle campagne (1860–1900)* (Turin, 1948), particularly the third essay, 157 ff.; and *Storia del paesaggio agrario italiano* (Bari, 1961), 269–425, covering technical problems of the Italian "agrarian landscape" from the *Risorgimento* to the present.

<sup>11</sup> The "suspension" was to become cathartic even for the general reading public in Italy through the fantastically wide acclaim accorded to the historical novel by an aristocrat, Giuseppe Tomasi di Lampedusa, *Il Gattopardo* (21st ed., Milan, 1959), a subtly ironical and melancholy work whose central theme was the transition of Sicily and the South from the Bourbon *ancien régime* to the Liberal bourgeois Piedmontese "iron age." The historical and spiritual implications of attitudes toward the *Risorgimento* had been seen in a different light during less "normal"

The revisionist critique of the *Risorgimento* and the Liberal era, however separated in origins or even antithetical in purposes some of its parts may have been, amounts to a series of variations on a single historiographical theme. This theme, it seems to me, is the recurring concept that at every critical stage, at every crucial moment, Italian history somehow failed to realize the promise intrinsic to the actual historical situation. Each moment of great crisis is then seen as resolving itself, obviously through the combination and predominant play of negative forces, into an essential, an organic "failure."<sup>12</sup> In this manner, the whole of Italian history becomes subsumed under the negative concept of *rivoluzione mancata*.<sup>13</sup> A pessimistic vision

times than those which saw the appearance of *Il Gattopardo*. Writing in May-June 1943, less than a year before his death in the Regina Coeli Roman prison, a young Italian anti-Fascist intellectual of Russian origin, Leone Ginzburg, made an illuminating apologia of the *Risorgimento* as an inspiration in the fight for freedom under the title of "La tradizione del Risorgimento," now reprinted in *Il Ponte*, XVII (No. 1, 1961), 42-57. "For Italians," Ginzburg wrote, "the attitude which they assume toward the *Risorgimento* still implies, as it will perhaps for quite some time continue to imply, an unequivocal choice that precedes every historiographical evaluation." (*Ibid.*, 43.)

<sup>12</sup> For a brief and very influential summary of the thesis of the Italian "historic failure" to the eve of Fascism, see Piero Gobetti, *La rivoluzione liberale: Saggio sulla lotta politica in Italia* (new ed., Turin, 1948), 19-51. In the introduction to *Le riviste di Piero Gobetti*, ed. Lelio Basso and Luigi Anderlini (Milan, 1961), lxi, Basso gives this synthetic interpretation of Gobetti's "liberal revolution": "Questa 'rivoluzione liberale' di massa l'Italia non l'ha avuta nè con la riforma nè con la rivoluzione borghese e il Risorgimento; ormai potrà averla soltanto attraverso la lotta emancipatrice del proletariato, degli operai e dei contadini. Senza questa lotta non ci sarà libertà nel nostro paese."

<sup>13</sup> While the term *rivoluzione mancata* and its variations such as *rivoluzione passiva*, *rivoluzione fallita*, *rivoluzione tradita* are perhaps relatively new, the concepts behind them are of older origin and derive, apparently, from many sources. Gobetti gave both the term and the idea of *rivoluzione mancata* suggestive power, a catalytic function, and an intellectual-ideological vogue that they had never had in the work of Alfredo Oriani, *La lotta politica in Italia* (new ed., Florence, 1921), and Mario Missiroli, *La monarchia socialista* (2d ed., Bologna, 1922), whose influence upon his own thought Gobetti himself acknowledges. (See Gobetti, *Rivoluzione liberale*, 51, n. 1; Basso's introduction to *Riviste di Piero Gobetti*, xxxviii.) As a matter of fact, Gobetti's formulation and use of the idea of *rivoluzione mancata* amount to a synthesis of many currents of thought and direct influences, all of which had emphasized aspects of "failure" or "defeat" as being of the essence of Italy's historic tradition. On these currents, see the introduction by Paolo Spriano to Piero Gobetti, *Scritti politici* (Turin, 1960), xvii-l et passim. In twentieth-century concepts of Italian history as a "documentation" of a recurring *rivoluzione mancata*, at least three significant traditions of negative appraisal can be distinguished as a variation on a single theme from Machiavelli to Gramsci: a political-moralistic tradition, particularly as presented in Giuseppe Ferrari, *Corso sugli scrittori politici italiani* (new ed., Milan, 1929), which finds some points of reference in Machiavelli and Alfieri and then in the "defeated" of the *Risorgimento*—Mazzini, Cattaneo, and Ferrari himself; a historical-moralistic current, as exemplified in Edgar Quinet, *Le rivoluzioni d'Italia, 1848-52*, tr. Carlo Muscetta (Bari, 1935), which advanced the hypothesis that all Italian "revolutions are restorations" because they lacked "the idea of religious liberty"—a hypothesis which recurs in Francesco De Sanctis, *Storia della letteratura italiana*, ed. Benedetto Croce (4th ed., 2 vols., Bari, 1949), I, 439; a social-moralistic tradition, running from Carlo Pisacane, *Saggio sulla Rivoluzione*, ed. Giaime Pintor (Turin, 1944), a contemporary vision of the *Risorgimento* conceived as a socialist revolution in *potentia*, to Antonio Gramsci's Marxist view of the *Risorgimento* as a *rivoluzione passiva*. The term *rivoluzione passiva* was apparently first used, with a different meaning than that which it acquired in the Gramscian lexicography, by Vincenzo Cuoco, *Saggio storico sulla rivoluzione napoletana del 1799*, ed. Fausto Nicolini (Bari, 1929), 90 ff. For an interesting Marxist-"Gramscian" critique of Cuoco's use of the concept of "passive revolution" in appraising the failure of the Neapolitan revolution of 1799, see Candeloro, *Storia dell'Italia moderna*, I, 283-88;

of Italy's historic development is thus adopted as a historical and philosophical category and, often unwittingly, is turned into fatalism or secular providentialism. At the very least, the concept is utilized as a guide toward illustrating the fundamental assumption that Italian history has been characterized by a sort of "one-step-forward-two-steps-backward" procedure. The links with the past are seen as recurrently bent but not broken, the channels to the future obscurely but mathematically obstructed.

In quasi-Toynbeeian fashion, a process of "challenge and response" is adduced to account for the repetitious disparity in Italian history between retardation and progress, the grip of tradition and the spurs to innovation, the successes of reaction and the defeats of revolution—an infernal cycle of dark secular victories of power over freedom in Italy.<sup>14</sup> Thus it was, allegedly, with the great crisis of Renaissance Italy, the Italian Reformation, the Jacobin revolution, the national revolution, the democratic revolution, the liberal revolution, the Industrial Revolution, the socialist revolution, the anti-Fascist revolution—and, overlogically if incredibly, thus it was with the "Fascist Revolution" itself!<sup>15</sup> A fantastic succession of historic disasters has haunted the genius of Italy through the modern age, or so it would seem. A hopeless series of failures, defeats, betrayals, the iron chain of *rivoluzioni mancate* has been raised into an exquisitely Italian specialization, the exclusive paradigm of one people's fate.

The normative transference or at least the tentative application of some such criteria to the historical development of other European nations and peoples would undoubtedly prove of immense interest to the searchers of overarching historical hypotheses and the theorists of comparative social science. An illuminating test, for instance, of the "scientific" validity of the

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on Gramsci's interpretation of the *Risorgimento* and of modern Italian history in general, see *ibid.*, 388–90.

<sup>14</sup> See the posthumously published book by Raffaello Giolli, *La disfatta dell'Ottocento* (Turin, 1961), particularly the concluding chapter, 308–26, for a passionate restatement and elucidation of the thesis of a total "defeat" and failure of the *Risorgimento*.

<sup>15</sup> Each of the pre-Fascist would-be *rivoluzioni mancate* had its special historian. (See note 13, above.) The heritage of the Gobettian interpretation may be said to have split in three directions: *meridionalista*, with Guido Dorso, *La rivoluzione meridionale* (new ed., Rome, 1945), which elaborated and brought up to date the thesis of the *Risorgimento* as a "royal conquest"; liberal-socialist, with Carlo Rosselli, *Il socialismo liberale* (new ed., Rome, 1945), the quintessence of the political thought of the *Giustizia e Libertà* anti-Fascist movement and then of the Action party during the resistance; and, at least in part, the Marxist current, as synthesized in Antonio Gramsci, *Il Risorgimento* (Turin, 1949), derived from the Italian Communist leader's prison notebooks of 1927–37. (Cf. Azzoni, "Italia dopo l'Unità," 561–62; Salvemini, *Scritti sul Risorgimento*, 462–63; Romeo, *Risorgimento e capitalismo*, 17 ff.) For a sort of *reductio ad absurdum*, through a Fascist variation on the theme, see Camillo Pellizzi, *Una rivoluzione mancata* (Milan, 1948), 10: "What an Italian Fascist must reproach himself with, in our judgment, is not of failing to try but of having tried without the moral vigor and the intellectual rigor which the [Fascist] experiment demanded. Its real failure was not a war lost, but a revolution that failed [*una rivoluzione mancata*]."

principle of *rivoluzione mancata* could be made by adopting it to "explain" the course and consequences of the English revolutions of the seventeenth century, of the American and the French Revolutions, of the German revolution of the nineteenth century, of the Central European revolutions, and of the Russian Revolution itself in the twentieth century! The anatomy of revolution performed with such an Italian methodological "scalpel" might perchance result in the formulation of a new universal law of history or perhaps in the reduction into brittle absurdity of such an operation for Italy as well.<sup>16</sup> At any rate, the performance of such an operation might make it clear to some students of Italian history that, beyond a certain empiric point, the concept of *rivoluzione mancata* involves either a new form of historical determinism or a pseudomystical function of historicist philosophy. Beyond those two extremes there would be no saving escape for the historian except in a *ritorno alla ragione* or in an existentialist plunge, an activistic surrender of historical intelligence to the pulverizing grip of *antistoria*.<sup>17</sup>

A special comment must be reserved for a truly exceptional moving force behind the strongest revisionist influence in contemporary Italian historiography. The publication of Antonio Gramsci's *Quaderni dal Carcere* in 1947-1951 constituted one of the major cultural events of the postwar period, and, of course, proved to be a "political" and ideological event in itself.<sup>18</sup> Gramsci's prison meditations on Italian history and society brought a strong gust of fresh historiographical winds but also controversy, polemics, and new

<sup>16</sup> There is no mention of possible Italian revolutions, successful or *mancate*, except a passing reference to the "Fascist revolution," which is placed under "the limitations of the subject," in the pioneering comparative study by Crane Brinton, *The Anatomy of Revolution* (rev. ed., New York, 1957), 22-24 *et passim*.

<sup>17</sup> See Fabio Cusin, *Antistoria d'Italia* (Turin, 1948), which amounts to a secular vision of Quinet's *rivoluzioni d'Italia* that always failed from the Middle Ages to Fascism. Cusin frankly states that it is his desire to put Italian history on trial and thus to write an *antistoria* of Italy in his quest of a *raison d'être* for the "contemporary experience and the crisis we have lived through and whose name is Fascism." (*Ibid.*, 11-12 *et passim*.)

<sup>18</sup> Gramsci's *Quaderni dal Carcere* were published by Giulio Einaudi of Turin under the following titles: *Lettere dal carcere* (1947); *Il materialismo storico e la filosofia di Benedetto Croce* (1948); *Il Risorgimento* (1949); *Gli intellettuali e l'organizzazione della cultura* (1949); *Note sul Machiavelli e sullo Stato moderno* (1949); *Letteratura e vita nazionale* (1950); *Passato e presente* (1951). See also the reprint of Gramsci's political articles in his *L'Ordine Nuovo, 1919-1920* (Turin, 1955). For the influential essay on the southern question, see Gramsci, *La questione meridionale* (Rome, 1951). For a very severe criticism of the editorial and "philological" defects of the Einaudian version of Gramsci's *Quaderni*, see the preface by Alberto Caracciolo and Gianni Scalia to their collection of essays entitled *La città futura: Saggi sulla figura e il pensiero di Antonio Gramsci* (Milan, 1959), 9: "non ci stancheremo di rinnovare pubblicamente la richiesta di una edizione integrale e criticamente condotta dell'intera opera di Antonio Gramsci, e l'ammonimento perché questa revisione, di cui si comincia a parlare, avvenga senza censure né pregiudizi e sia garantita dal contemporaneo sviluppo degli studi di ciascuno, dal libero accesso degli studiosi ai manoscritti, dalla pubblica verifica dei criteri adottati e dei risultati conseguiti. . . ." This is a courageous and fair request deserving of the fullest support by all Italian scholars.

ideological conflicts.<sup>19</sup> Gramsci's original, vast-ranging, acute prison reflections and his Marxist critique on Italian culture and politics, from the Renaissance to the *Risorgimento* and from the inception of the unitary state to Fascism, acted as a catalyst upon the historical conscience of the younger Italian intelligentsia even as it fascinated and then roused contrasting reactions from the midst of the older intellectual and professional classes.<sup>20</sup> In theory and practice, the Gramscian notebooks contributed greatly in redrawing the *Risorgimento* and the Liberal state once again within the greyish zones that stretch between politics and history.<sup>21</sup>

Apparently the most genial and certainly the most seductive of Gramsci's historical meditations was that which led him to see the *Risorgimento* as "a complex and contradictory movement which results as an integral whole despite all its antithetical elements."<sup>22</sup> In its final "integral" aspect, however, the *Risorgimento* amounted to a new, perhaps decisive, historic deflection of a revolution *in potentia*. Thus a *rivoluzione passiva* occurred when the agrarian masses of Italy, particularly in the South, were left at the mercy of Moderate-Liberal ruling classes by the defects and defections from their cause of the Italian "Jacobin" radical movement and by the democratic Action party's lack of real cohesion, leadership, and a realistic sense of a concrete political direction toward the fulfillment of a tangible historic mission.<sup>23</sup> For Gramsci the *Risorgimento* was essentially an agrarian-populist revolution that had a brief chance and then failed. Gramsci dissected the causes and sources of that failure with pitiless Marxist logic, but his historicist Crocean "education" and his exposure to the elitist theories of the political class led him to mete out "historical justice" equally, if naturally on different levels, to both victors and defeated. In essence, he seemed to feel that an Italian "Jacobin"-democratic-agrarian revolution could have and should have been pushed through, but that, in fact, ostensibly seeking too much with too little, that revolution remained unfulfilled and got nothing. Indeed, still

<sup>19</sup> See Romeo, *Risorgimento e capitalismo*, 17-51 *et passim*; Aldo Garosci, "Totalitarismo e storicismo nel pensiero di Gramsci" in his *Pensiero politico e storiografia moderna* (Pisa, 1954), 193-257; H. Stuart Hughes, *Consciousness and Society: The Reorientation of European Social Thought, 1890-1930* (New York, 1958), 96-104, for "Postscript: Gramsci and Marxist Humanism"; Salomone, *Italy in the Giolittian Era*, 141-42, and notes.

<sup>20</sup> Romeo, *Risorgimento e capitalismo*, 10-11; Azzoni, "Italia dopo l'Unità," 263-65.

<sup>21</sup> Valeri, "Premessa ad una storia," 73-77; Salomone, *Italy in the Giolittian Era*, 140-44 *et passim*.

<sup>22</sup> Gramsci, *Risorgimento*, 108: "Il Risorgimento è uno svolgimento storico complesso e contraddittorio, che risulta integrale da tutti i suoi elementi antitetici, dai suoi protagonisti e dai suoi antagonisti, dalle loro lotte, dalle modificazioni reciproche che le lotte stesse determinano e anche dalla funzione delle forze passive e latenti come le grandi masse agricole, oltre, naturalmente, la funzione eminente dei rapporti internazionali."

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 69-71.



worse, it got less than nothing because it had served no real purpose but that of the Italian and European antirevolutionary political classes.

Gramsci's analysis of the final phase of the Italian Liberal national revolution was crucial to his entire interpretation of the *Risorgimento*. Throughout the climactic struggle between democratic radicalism and liberal moderatism in 1859-1860, the Piedmontese dynasty, the monarch himself, according to Gramsci, had acted upon the assumption that Garibaldi, the "general of the popular revolution," was unswervingly captive in his loyalty to the King.<sup>24</sup> In the fall of 1860, moderate Liberalism and Cavourian statecraft subtly turned the decisive historic trick: they succeeded in converting Garibaldi's populist-democratic "liberation of the South" into a sort of "royal conquest." Thus Cavour had proved equal to his task and to that of his social and political class by transforming a revolutionary-military movement, which, for the first time in the course of the national revolution, had aroused the active interest and participation of the masses of the South, into a function of hegemonic conservative-Liberal politics. Combining realism and audacity, the dynasty, the Liberal classes, and Cavour had kept themselves concretely attuned to the finalities of a genuine political class. No less important, the Cavourian elite had apparently known and fruitfully exploited the secret of operating always within—not against or outside, as the revolutionary Mazzinian Action party almost necessarily had to act—the boundaries of the permissible, if not quite the desirable, international novelties in the European balance of power.<sup>25</sup>

Among other things, Gramsci's prison reflections on Italian history were essentially a function of his long, silent "dialogue" with Croce.<sup>26</sup> To read Gramsci's notes on the *Risorgimento* and then to reread Croce's pages on the Italian national revolution in his *Storia d'Europa* is to shift between two contrasting but related historical worlds. In both, the "dialectic of freedom" operates constantly through the analysis and reconstruction of events and the great conflict of men and ideas. But whereas in the Crocean world of the *Risorgimento*, liberty stirs and breathes almost as a transcendent spirit, a secular faith, an idea larger than the men who are its instruments, in the Gramscian world freedom has no real identity outside of the "protagonists" and "antagonists" of the historic conflict. For Croce, Cavour lives and works in a Rankean sphere, as if on a providential mission beyond

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 70; see also *id.*, *Questione meridionale*, 43.

<sup>25</sup> See *id.*, *Risorgimento*, 87-95, for a negative judgment on the concept of the autonomy of Italian politics ("l'Italia farà da sé") during the *Risorgimento*.

<sup>26</sup> See Guido Morpurgo-Tagliabue, "Gramsci tra Croce e Marx," *Il Ponte*, IV (No. 4, 1948), 429-38. For the "dialogue" itself, see Gramsci, *Materialismo storico e la filosofia di Benedetto Croce*, pt. 4, 171-258.



error and beyond judgment, while for Gramsci the entire *Risorgimento* is in the grip of an inescapable historic antinomy, and all its heroes are rebels and prisoners at the same time, victims and victors of a giant struggle, itself a "complex and contradictory" development of "active and latent forces."

Thus, in a Fascist prison cell, an ideal battle of the *Risorgimento* was fought again. Gramsci's Marxist "theory of praxis" grappled desperately with the Crocean philosophy of absolute historicism. The Sardinian ideologue's dialectics of power were pitted against the Neapolitan philosopher's "religion of liberty."<sup>27</sup> Gramsci's ideological commitment, however, did not restrain him nor his singular intelligence from "acting" in freedom as he grappled with the deepest problems of modern Italian history. He knew the psychology of the defeated firsthand, but, as the self-confessed loser in a political struggle, he asked for no pity.<sup>28</sup> The Fascist prison broke his body, but never constrained his spirit. Unfortunately, as his notebooks were issued, a strange constraint upon his spiritual legacy was imposed by his official and officious interpreters who, at least for a time, almost succeeded in converting into a system of doctrines with all the trappings of ideological orthodoxy what had been profound, but fragmentary, meditations on Italian history and on politics and culture. Among the first fruits of that conversion was a new Italian Marxist variation on the theme of the *rivoluzione mancata*, whose earliest exponents Gramsci himself had castigated as intellectual dilettanti, "mercenaries of science."<sup>29</sup>

The rising tide of the Marxist historiographical revisionism was reinforced at some crucial moments by other currents of interpretations of the *Risorgimento* and the Liberal aftermath. Though they cannot, obviously, be

<sup>27</sup> For a pithy description of this conflict, see the letters dated May 2, 9, 1932, addressed to his sister-in-law, in Gramsci, *Lettere dal carcere*, 186–88. For a detailed and elaborately documented essay on the philosophical "encounter" between Gramsci and Croce, see Emilio Agazzi, "Filosofia della prassi e filosofia dello spirito," in *Città futura*, ed. Caracciolo and Scalia, 189–269.

<sup>28</sup> Gramsci, *Lettere dal carcere*, 54–55, in a letter to his sister, dated February 20, 1928, refers to his imprisonment as "an episode of the political struggle."

<sup>29</sup> Gramsci, *Risorgimento*, 55–67, reviews a number of histories of the *Risorgimento* and notes that they are all "di carattere politico immediato e ideologico e non storico." He further speaks of them as being "lavori di letterati, di dilettanti, costruzioni acrobatiche di uomini che volevano far sfoggio di talento se non d'intelligenza." He singles out a few as being the work of "laccchè intellettuali" and "mercenari della scienza." For exegetical defenses of the officially accepted Gramscian theses, see Renato Zangheri, "La mancata rivoluzione agraria nel Risorgimento e i problemi economici dell'Unità," and Roberto Cessi, "Lo storicismo e i problemi della storia nell'opera di Gramsci," in Istituto Antonio Gramsci, *Studi gramsciani: Atti del convegno tenuto a Roma nei giorni 11–12 gennaio 1958* (Florence, 1958), 369–83, 469–88. For other views concerning Gramsci and the Marxist interpretation of the *Risorgimento* as a *rivoluzione agraria mancata*, directly and indirectly involving rejection of Romeo's fundamental critique of the Communist theses, see Caracciolo, *Stato e società civile*, 146–51; Villari, *Mezzogiorno e contadini*, 273–79; Salvadori, *Mito del buongoverno*, 406–408, notes. For a calm, authoritative

separately or extensively treated here, Italian and non-Italian radical democratic and "social" Catholic approaches, at least for a time, joined from different quarters in the wave of criticism and attack on the "classic" traditions.<sup>30</sup> The *Risorgimento* was, for instance, reduced to "a civil war between the old and new ruling classes" in nineteenth-century Italy.<sup>31</sup> It was stressed that the making of Italy had proved "a victory for the intellectuals, the liberals, the middle classes," but "not for the uneducated . . . ; not for the poor . . . ; not for those who lost a paternal, protective ordering of society . . . ; not for the Catholic masses . . ."—not, in a word, for "the ordinary people of Italy."<sup>32</sup> If freedom had been at all involved as a moving force in the *Risorgimento*, it had been on the side of the Italian victims and antagonists of Cavour and of his Machiavellian system of politics and diplomacy. Cavourian statecraft had not merely appropriated Garibaldi's radical popular revolution; it had rather perverted it through chicanery and deceit into a function of a consummately self-seeking dynastic conservative liberalism.

Suggestive and sometimes enlightening as such assessments of victory and defeat in the *Risorgimento* may be, they are at best a legitimate "base of operations" for research into unexplored aspects of the Italian national revolution. At worst, generic, if attractive, value judgments, whether in exaltation or condemnation, tend, among other things, to amount to vicarious participation in the political and ideological passions of a historic drama in need of understanding. An actual contemporary, a true direct participant, must exercise to the full his human right to praise or to blame a turn of events; the elements that contributed to a success or a disaster were truly his to work with; the friends who helped toward a victory, for him to exalt; the enemy who brought him down to defeat, for him to curse. Mazzini, Cattaneo, and Garibaldi could, and did, legitimately defy, curse, and damn the agents of their failure, the forces and men whom they held responsible for their

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assessment of the historiographical limitations of both the Gramscian and the Italian Communist interpretations of the *Risorgimento* and the Liberal period, see the perceptive comments by Chabod, "Croce storico," 521–25 *et passim*.

<sup>30</sup> For two quite different emphases in recent Catholic historiography, see, on the one hand, the positive and moderate approaches in Arturo Carlo Jemolo, *Chiesa e stato in Italia negli ultimi cento anni* (Turin, 1948), and in Fausto Fonzi, *I cattolici e la società italiana dopo l'Unità* (Rome, 1953); and, on the other, the negative and critical stress in the two works by Gabriele De Rosa, *L'Azione Cattolica: Storia politica dal 1874 al 1919* (2 vols., Bari, 1953–54) and *La crisi dello stato liberale in Italia* (Rome, 1955), and in Giovanni Spadolini, *L'opposizione cattolica: Da Porta Pia al '98* (Florence, 1954). For an excellent bibliographical essay dealing with the Italian Catholic movement after the *Risorgimento*, see Guido Verucci, "Recenti studi sul movimento cattolico in Italia," *Rivista storica italiana*, LXVII (No. 3, 1955), 425–48, 529–54.

<sup>31</sup> Denis Mack Smith, *Italy: A Modern History* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1959), 39. For a balanced and moderately critical assessment of Mack Smith's interpretation of modern Italian history, seen within a context of *rivoluzione mancata*, see Salvatore Onufrio, "Italia liberale e fascismo," *Il Ponte*, XVI (No. 7, 1960), 1044–59.

<sup>32</sup> Denis Mack Smith, *Garibaldi: A Great Life in Brief* (New York, 1956), 67–68 *et passim*.

defeat. The historian, on the other hand, may and often must grant them and their brothers in defeat sympathy and compassion, but he cannot raise these into categories of understanding; he cannot reduce the Italian national revolution merely into a function of the unrealized potentialities of the *Risorgimento*. History is not a ledger of assets and liabilities, a scoreboard of defeats and triumphs.<sup>33</sup>

Occurring within a particular context of European politics and involving a special set of realities and possibilities, the *Risorgimento* was not a bloc. Ends and means were ever at cross-purposes in its development; desirable results, conscious efforts, unpredictable consequences, accidents and contingencies, and the clash of human wills were at the heart of its historicity as of all great collective deeds. Unquestionably, concrete economic, social, and ideological forces operated in its dynamics much below the surface of chronology and choreography.<sup>34</sup> But from the bedrock of its self-conscious purposes the idea and the reality of the *Risorgimento* as a struggle for freedom, however restrictively on purely theoretical bases it may be interpreted, cannot be excluded a priori. Unless, that is, one prefers, whether unconsciously or against all reason, to subsume the historicity of the *Risorgimento* under some concept of metahistory. In that case, the vicious circle would again be closed, and the *Risorgimento* would be uniquely reduced to the data of historical metaphysics or, perhaps more likely, to a function of historiographical politics. The pall of this spurious dilemma has, unfortunately, been an obscurer part of its fate during the recent revisionist vogue. But the *Risorgimento* perhaps need not suffer such fate much longer. For a paraphrase of a great historian's exhortation to polemicists may at long last be taken to heart: "Risorgimentalists" and "Antirisorgimentalists," we beg of you, for pity's sake, please tell us simply what was the *Risorgimento*.<sup>35</sup>

As a matter of fact, the end of the almost hopeless if not altogether sterile conflict of ideological faiths in interpretations of the *Risorgimento*

<sup>33</sup> Valeri, "Premessa ad una storia," 75, says of the Marxist revisionists: "Questo il vero oggetto della loro ricerca: non ciò che gli uomini del Risorgimento e i loro eredi hanno fatto, ma ciò che non hanno fatto. . . ." On the larger historiographical problem involved in this emphasis on a history that was not made, see Edward Hallett Carr, *What Is History? The George Macaulay Trevelyan Lectures Delivered in the University of Cambridge, January-March 1961* (New York, 1962), 167: "History is, by and large, a record of what people did, not of what they failed to do: to this extent it is inevitably a success story. . . ."

<sup>34</sup> For more substantive treatment of these points, see my two articles: "The Liberal Experiment and the Italian Revolution of 1848: A Revaluation," *Journal of Central European Affairs*, IX (Oct. 1949), 269-74, 279-87, and "Statecraft and Ideology in the Risorgimento," *Italica*, XXXVIII (No. 3, 1961), 172-73, 180-82.

<sup>35</sup> The paraphrase is, of course, of Marc Bloch's injunction to Robespierrists and anti-Robespierrists in his *Apologie pour l'histoire ou métier d'historien*, of which I have used the Italian translation by Carlo Pischedda. (*Apologia della storia* [Turin, 1950], 119.)

seems now in sight. Carlo Antoni's great wish has begun to be answered: at long last a *ritorno alla ragione*, a return to historical reason self-consciously committed only to genuine historical problems, appears to be quietly, undramatically assumed as the basis for a new and fruitful historiographical era.<sup>36</sup> Such a "return" should not involve a retrogression to the rationalistic and positivistic idols of the past nor should it lead to anachronistic reimmersions in the dead seas of intellectualism and dogmatism, shining and realistic as these may appear in some quarters. That "return" should rather be an advance based upon the fearless appraisal of the errors but also of the achievements of the preceding generations of Italian and European master historians. Perhaps only thus can the emergence of a new historiography without dogmas be ensured toward the writing of a modern Italian history beyond myths. In the possibility of such an advance lies the true promise of the present moment and the challenge to be faced by the postrevisionist generation of Italian historians.

Shorn of the ritualistic rhetoric of nationalism and mysticism and of the moralistic antirhetoric of the opposing Liberal and Marxist world views, those subtle instruments of a bitter Italian and European ideological conflict, the history of modern Italy may then be placed within its proper terms of reference. The old ones cannot be accepted so long as they insist on constraining that history either between the "idyll" of Italian liberalism in the nineteenth century and the historic "accident" of its twentieth-century downfall, or between the "failure" of the *Risorgimento* and the catastrophe which was Fascism.<sup>37</sup> The *Risorgimento* may continue to be presented as a

<sup>36</sup> Carlo Antoni, *Commento a Croce* (Venice, 1955), 33: "L'antico equilibrio umanistico aveva dato la sola risposta alla scoperta del carattere pratico delle scienze, che fosse in grado di sottrarre la nostra civiltà dalla follia e dalla disperazione dell'irrazionalismo. Esso significava *un ritorno alla ragione, che non era una ricaduta nell'intellettualismo*, ma che rendeva giustizia a quell'arte e a quella vitalità, che da due secoli il pensiero, pur attraverso estremismi e aberrazioni, aveva cercato di riconoscere nella loro realtà" [*italics mine*]. I have consciously given Antoni's emphasis to a phrase first used as the title of a book by Guido De Ruggiero, *Il ritorno alla ragione* (Bari, 1946). De Ruggiero's book was published in the heat of the postwar revulsion against Fascism and its sources in Italy; it contained a condemnation of modern irrationalist philosophies, including an attack against Crocean idealism and historicism (see particularly the "Premesse filosofiche," in De Ruggiero's work, 3-41 *et passim*). During the war, Antoni himself, in two works—*Dallo storicismo alla sociologia* (Florence, 1940) and *La lotta contro la ragione* (Florence, 1942)—had made a critique of certain negative trends in the philosophical origins and twentieth-century expressions of German historicist thought. In three postwar books, Antoni returned to the problems of the "struggle against reason" but with a neo-Crocean tendency and sympathy and at the same time with a critical view of De Ruggiero's apparent suggestion that a "return to reason" could not but mean a return to intellectualistic and rationalistic philosophy. See Carlo Antoni, *Commento a Croce*, 119-30, *Lo storicismo* (Rome, 1957), 198-99, and *La restaurazione del diritto di natura* (Venice, 1959), 45-46.

<sup>37</sup> Mack Smith, *Italy*, preface, vii, states the thesis with an interesting variation: "Compressed into a few words, the central thesis is that *a great political success* in the nineteenth century *was followed by collapse and defeat* in the twentieth, largely because of mistakes in foreign policy which in turn refer back to constitutional weaknesses in domestic politics" [*italics mine*].

great struggle for unity and freedom, which was unredeemably condemned by its very nature and the "iron laws of history" to the role of another *rivoluzione mancata*. But that view would then be accepted in its true dimensions as a mere datum in the politics of contemporary Italy. The rich, complex developments of the Liberal period may still be reduced to a series of ineffectual efforts that episodically obscured even as they organically ensured the denouement to the "built-in disaster" of Fascism. But such a reduction would then clearly be subsumed under the category of a clinical analysis of so-called "causes" for the fall of a state. It will no longer be assumed as a historical basis for the reconstruction of the life of a people, of an Italian society that had worked and struggled for its freedoms and a dignified existence within the active circle of Europe's liberal civilization.<sup>38</sup>

A century after the achievement of Italian political unity it may not be too rash to hope that agreement on the nature of the fundamental problems of the *Risorgimento* and the succeeding era of Italian reconstruction will leave sufficient liberty for the historical intelligence to be creative. For the moment at least, the basis for that concord perhaps need be no wider than a tacit commitment to restore the *Risorgimento* and the Liberal era as objects of genuine historical reflection.

The appearance of a new kind of master model in modern Italian historiography has already given some substance to that hope and an ideal to be striven for by all those who are weary of even the most fertile ideological battles. Federico Chabod's masterpiece on the passage from the *Risorgimento* to the unitary state and on the complex "premises," the pre-eminent *premesse*, of Italy's uncertain debut in modern European affairs will long remain one of the most felicitous documents of the Italian and European historical intelligence of our time.<sup>39</sup> In Chabod's reconstruction of an age and a people in literal transition, the fierce polemics on the *Risorgimento* and on the character of the Liberal state are subtly transformed into empiric data, ideological and moral viewpoints to be experimentally accepted, dissected, and then dominated by the historian's serene, if not necessarily impartial, judgment.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Cf. the appraisal of the first half century of Italian unitary life in my *Italian Democracy in the Making: The Political Scene in the Giolittian Era, 1900-1914* (Philadelphia, 1945), 11-12.

<sup>39</sup> Federico Chabod, *Storia della politica estera italiana dal 1870 al 1896*, I, *Le premesse* (Bari, 1951). For an assessment of Chabod's historiographical achievement, see the commemorative issue of *Rivista storica italiana*, LXXII (No. 4, 1960): "Federico Chabod nella cultura e nella vita contemporanea." For a systematic introduction to and preliminary exegesis on Chabod's historical work, see Gennaro Sasso, *Profilo di Federico Chabod* (Bari, 1961). See also Alberto M. Ghisalberti, "Amici scomparsi: Federico Chabod," *Rassegna storica del Risorgimento*, XLVII (No. 3, 1960), 404-408; Furio Diaz, "Federico Chabod," *Il Ponte*, XVI (Nos. 8-9, 1960), 1132-44.

<sup>40</sup> See Armando Saitta, "Genesi del giudizio di Chabod sulla classe dirigente italiana," *Rivista storica italiana*, LXXII (No. 4, 1960), 756-77.

Men and events in post-*Risorgimento* Italy, facts and ideas, myths and realities, economic and spiritual conditions, biography and statistics, social classes and the play of political passions, Church and state, the Franco-Prussian War, the Commune, and the great European fear of revolution, Italy between the idea of Rome and the idea of Europe—all these and more are molded into an exquisitely rich, lively, organic portrait of a new state in fearful infancy, of an old society in ferment, in conflict with its new political class, divided against itself, in desperate search of new self-identity.

In Chabod's work the antinomies of the new Italian historic drama of the post-*Risorgimento* are laid bare with exceptional professional skill and creative intelligence. Skill and intelligence, however, do not conceal the author's sympathies, nor do they deny his human compassion; they rather discipline these sentiments with the wisdom of genuine historical reason.<sup>41</sup> Thus the new conflict between Church and state in Italy and the ancient dissension between culture and politics, between authority and liberty, and their novel forms, assume fresh meanings and dimensions as they are projected against the historic heritage of Italy and the mobile backdrop of Europe's contemporary vicissitudes.<sup>42</sup>

Chabod's great work, too, has proved to be an event of crucial significance in Italian cultural history and in modern historiography. Perhaps more than any other that work may be said to constitute at the same time a great synthesis of the contrasting thought and methodology of three generations of European historians from Ranke through Burckhardt to Meinecke and Croce, an ideal bridge between the labors of the last generation of giants and the younger generation of Italian historians, and, above all, an exemplary pilot project in the great quest for an ever-elusive *pax historiographica*.<sup>43</sup> Chabod, "the pure historian," the "historian par excellence,"<sup>44</sup> has subtly shown how the fiercest winds of contemporary political passions, the siren calls of new ideological doctrines and seductive philosophical alternatives need not lead, either in the historian's private world or in his contemplation of the past, to an anarchy of values, if genuine historical reason succumbs to

<sup>41</sup> See Chabod's own statement of his historical method in the preface to his *Storia della politica estera italiana*, vii–xiv. Cf. the contrast between Chabod's work and that of Croce and Meinecke in Sasso, *Profilo*, 155–77 *et passim*.

<sup>42</sup> Chabod opens his *Storia* with the broad canvas of "Passions and Ideas" in Europe and Italy, traces the impact on Italy of a great European event, the Franco-Prussian War, and then details the vicissitudes, in the new historic context, of "the idea of Rome." (See pt. 1, 3–323.)

<sup>43</sup> Sasso, *Profilo*, 187: "si potrebbe forse affermare che la sua funzione più caratteristica fu, tra il 1947 e il 1960, e cioè negli anni della sua più notevole influenza culturale, di aver rappresentato agli occhi delle più giovani generazioni il modello di uno 'storico puro', o capace di purificarsi nel rigoroso esercizio della ricerca e nella concretezza di un linguaggio tutto cose e niente astrattezze metodologiche, quelle inquietudini speculative o quella somma di esperienze culturali non immediatamente riducibili sotto il segno della informazione professionale. . . ."

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 189.



no master ideas outside or above its hard but free pursuit of secular truth. Chabod responded with every fiber of his intelligence to the political dilemmas and the spiritual torments of a "Europe in decay," of a European age in decline, of a civilization apparently bent upon self-destruction. But he also dominated and then transmuted his tragic sense of contemporary Italian life and European culture into a very complex and profound but essentially serene work of the historical art.<sup>45</sup> Perhaps more than any other, his historiographical achievement has helped reveal a new path in the study of modern Italy. Where that path may lead no one can safely predict, and it is clearly beyond the requirement and intention of this essay to probe too deeply into the uncertain realm where history merges with prophecy.

Each generation must eventually come to grips not only with its history but also with its own historiography. Historical problems that are intimate parts of its life and work will inevitably torment its most sensitive minds as they will challenge the most intelligent to seek answers that, as the great structures of the masters of the craft abundantly illustrate, may at the same time reflect new historical visions of the world and transcend the very ethos of which they are frequently vital functions and expressions. Toward the solution of its own historiographical problems, as they arise, the younger generation of Italian historians now has as model and inspiration the finished work of at least three great masters of modern history—Croce, Salvemini, and Chabod—as well as the fascinating fragments of historical meditations of two exceptionally acute political minds—Gobetti and Gramsci.<sup>46</sup> Theirs is an impressive legacy. But the younger generation of historians would be false to that legacy if it converted it merely into atavistic exemplars or put it to anachronistic purposes. However venerable and rich, that legacy must be accepted as a premise, in the widest Chabodian sense, a *premissa*, toward new creative efforts in the Italian historians' craft. Only thus, perhaps, can Chabod's own masterpiece and the best work of his generation of Italian and European historians become in their turn not the last but the first fruits of a fertile historiographical season in Italy.

Prophecy may perhaps be allowed a brief, final moment's illusion of being a function of historiography, if never of belonging to history. A multiple, delicate, patient labor of reanalysis of larger historic premises can foreseeably

<sup>45</sup> See Leo Valiani, "Lo storico dei propri tempi," *Rivista storica italiana*, LXXII (No. 4, 1960), 774–92, for an analysis of Chabod's treatment of "contemporary" history, particularly as presented in his *L'Italie contemporaine: Conférences données à l'Institut d'Études Politiques de l'Université de Paris* (Paris, 1950) and now in an Italian edition, *L'Italia contemporanea (1918–1948)* (Turin, 1961).

<sup>46</sup> These five men have been among the most significant but not the sole contributors to a "legacy" that is larger than the intellectual and professional one spoken of here.



be expected to be conducted, as the great masters have suggested, with a view toward correlating the history of the *Risorgimento* and of the Liberal era in Italy with their proper European contexts. The attrition resulting from the bitter struggle between new men and old ideas in modern Italy; the complexities of the recurring clash between myth and history in the evolution of an Italian national society; the currents of revolutionary thought and action as they beat against the tenacious resistance of religious and social traditions; the tragic contradictions created by the massive economic requirements for national survival and growth and the silent aspirations for a minimum of social justice among the masses of the people; the involutions of "reasons of state" and the explosions of collective anger against the cruelties and injustices those "reasons" frequently masked; the irrepressible conflicts between ideals of freedom and the realities of power; the stratification of interests and the alienation of culture; and, above all, the sources and character of the periodic re-emergence of the historic Italian disenchantment with politics—*these, no less than the more constructive moments in modern Italian life and culture of which they were often the preludes, can perhaps be expected to be among the central themes to be further elaborated* in the work of the very best within the younger generation of Italian historians. Indeed, even a hasty survey of the most recent Italian historical studies would clearly reveal that the effort has already begun to bring forth excellent fruit. Committed as it is to the practical ideal of utilizing fresh and concrete methodological innovations unburdened by theoretical lucubrations, that work in progress may possibly hold the secret of an Italian historiographical revolution in the making.

\* \* \* *Notes and Suggestions* \* \* \*

The German Diplomatic Papers:  
Publication after Two World Wars

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A FEW years ago a reviewer in the London *Times Literary Supplement* touched off a vigorous controversy about the publication of German diplomatic papers after two world wars. He was discussing one of the volumes in the collection entitled *Documents on German Foreign Policy, 1918-1945*, published by the American, British, and French governments. The reviewer praised the volume, although he said "it is disappointing for British readers that the British editors are obliged to accept the American translation," which he found rather barbarous. He was comforted by the fact that serious students could consult the German text. "Above all," he concluded, "so long as these German archives are in the hands of the Western Allies there need be no fear of manipulations of the texts such as those which have been discovered to have taken place in Germany after the other war."

In the next issue, A. J. P. Taylor replied with characteristic vigor. He defended the collection of documents covering the years 1871 to 1914 sponsored by the German government "after the other war," the collection known to scholars as *Die Grosse Politik*. That collection was, Taylor affirmed, superior in many ways to the collections published by the Western Allies after the Second World War. In particular, he contrasted the speed with which Friedrich Thimme had completed *Die Grosse Politik* with the slow progress on *Documents on German Foreign Policy, 1918-1945*. "Thimme finished his task, virtually unaided, seven years after the end of the First World War; he had surveyed the records of 43 years and published 54 volumes. Eight years after the end of the Second World War, a large team of American, British, and French scholars—with a bureaucratic array of Editors-

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in-Chief (who spend much of their time resigning), editors, assistant editors, to say nothing of micro-photographers—has brought out five volumes, covering slightly more than two years.”

As I was reading, with the wry smile proper to one of the editors in chief who had resigned, two pictures forming the wings of a narrative diptych took form in my mind. The background of both was Berlin, the Berlin of 1923 and the very different Berlin of 1946. In the Berlin of 1923, a young American graduate student stood with Dr. Thimme at the entrance to the large room in the Foreign Office where scholars, most of them about my age, worked silently, few even looking up as we entered. Thimme had just guided me through the archives of the Foreign Office, where archivists had explained the filing system for the vast collection; now he was showing the way in which documents from this collection were prepared for publication in *Die Grosse Politik*.

That day, and every day, what struck me was the contrast between the quiet, the order, and the concentrated thought within the archives and the confusion outside. That was the summer and the fall when the mark was sliding dizzily toward worthlessness, when Stresemann was deciding to abandon passive resistance to the French occupation of the Ruhr, when Communists were preparing to seize power in Saxony and Thuringia, and Nazis were preparing to seize power in Bavaria. In Berlin there was the harsh contrast between the wild extravagance of the carefully guarded night clubs, and the children with their faces pressed to the windows of restaurants, hungrily watching others eat. Everywhere there were the furtive black market operators, and the young of both sexes seeking to sell themselves, their only means of livelihood. Against these sickening memories there is the memory of waking to the sound of music and looking out to see the little bands of youths marching, singing, through the dark city streets out to the countryside to escape the asphalt and all its stifling associations, as other youths had marched a decade earlier, before the war, and as still other youths were to march a decade later, harbingers of another war. Often, as one passed out of the reception hall of the Foreign Office, with the bust of Bismarck looking down, it seemed, with incredulity at what had befallen his domain, the Wilhelmstrasse opened before one, packed solidly with people waiting, without direction, for announcement of the fate of their distracted country.

Through days and through years like those, Thimme and his assistants worked steadily, rapidly, preparing the volumes which told the story of German foreign policy from the formation of the Empire in 1871 to the war crisis of 1914. The decision to make the story public had been taken when,

after the armistice in 1918, the new German government realized the depth of the conviction in Allied countries that Germany was responsible for all the suffering and destruction of the war. Three weeks after the armistice the German government asked for the appointment of a neutral commission, with access to the archives of all belligerent governments, to examine the origins of the war as a means of "demolishing the walls of hatred" which prevented the reconciliation of peoples, "the one possible foundation for lasting peace and a league of peoples." The British, French, and American governments declined to reply to the request, "as the responsibility of Germany for the war has been long ago incontestably proved."

The German government then acted alone. The first result was the "Kautsky Documents" on the crisis of 1914. By the time this most famous German socialist had completed his examination of the Foreign Office papers on the crisis, the terms of the Treaty of Versailles were known, and opinion in Germany had swung violently away from the desire for reconciliation to the conviction that Germany had been betrayed, certainly by the Allies, and probably by those who were still at work on the constitution of the Weimar Republic. In these changed circumstances it took courage to publish the documents assembled by Kautsky, which told a story very different from that which Germans had believed during the war and which they were once more anxious to believe.

After months of hesitation the Weimar coalition decided at the end of 1919 to brave the opposition at home in the hope of undermining the moral foundation of the Treaty of Versailles. The hope was justified. Let me recall one significant bit of evidence. From its publication in April 1916 to the end of the war, Charles Seymour's *Diplomatic Background of the War* was the most generally accepted account of European diplomacy from 1871 to 1914; this masterly popularization of the Allied viewpoint on the origins of the war went through ten printings by October 1918. In 1923 the book was again reprinted. At the end was a long footnote on the recently published documentary evidence. "The German Foreign Office is absolved from the charge of plotting the war," Seymour concluded. However, he maintained, German foreign policy before 1914 "made the maintenance of peace extremely difficult."

Already Thimme and his associates were at work on this aspect of the "war guilt question." Six volumes of documents on the diplomacy of Bismarck were published in 1922; in 1923 seven volumes carried the story to 1897; in 1924 the story was carried to 1903 in eight volumes; in 1925 and 1926 no less than thirty-two volumes appeared, completing the story to

1914. The volumes on the crucial decade before the war were distinguished by ever more frequent, and ever more partisan, editorial footnotes which sought to argue the German case in the crises of those years. Quite obviously the storms raging outside the Foreign Office archives were penetrating to the quiet room where Thimme and his assistants worked. His colleague, Albrecht Mendelssohn Bartholdy, commented ruefully that "we editors are certainly not recognized as prophets in our country."

The pressures brought to bear on the editors, and their response to these pressures, can be followed in the documents captured by the British and American armies in 1945. For instance in 1925 after the correspondence relating to Italian diplomacy in the early years of the century had been published, there were protests from Prince Bülow, from Konstantin von Neurath, the German ambassador in Rome, and from Italian statesmen, including Mussolini. In reporting the indignation of the Italians, Neurath argued that as *Die Grosse Politik* approached the present, great harm would be done to German national interest if the selection of documents for publication was guided only by concern for historical scholarship. Bülow was worried, not only about the Italian reaction, but about the wisdom of revealing the record of German diplomacy, with which his own reputation was so intimately connected.

Against these protests, Thimme urged that the Foreign Office continue, as in the past, to support the editors. He affirmed that throughout he had been at pains to further both historical scholarship and the interests of German foreign policy. Specifically, he had refrained from publishing anything injurious to neutral states and statesmen. He had shown consideration, both in the text and in the footnotes, for statesmen in enemy countries who had not been openly anti-German, particularly if there was a possibility that these statesmen might again exercise political influence; for instance, in selecting material on the Moroccan crisis of 1911 every effort had been made to protect Joseph Caillaux. Finally, Thimme affirmed his desire to avoid "needless" offense to German statesmen: possibly he had actually gone too far in obscuring Bülow's servile flattery of William II.

Moving to the offensive, Thimme presented evidence of the high esteem in which *Die Grosse Politik* was held abroad, particularly in English-speaking countries; the decision to publish had been amply vindicated by the impact of the German documents on the war guilt question. He was sure that this esteem and this impact would increase, so long as the editors could give assurance of their complete independence and freedom from official control; the usefulness of the publication for German foreign policy was

completely dependent on the confidence of world opinion in the independence of the editors.

In a long and vigorous discussion with Bülow, Thimme went further. Someday, he pointed out, Germany might have a Right-wing or a Left-wing government; then *Die Grosse Politik* would be scrutinized in the light of the archival evidence, and it was essential that the volumes be able to survive such scrutiny. Already the editors were being criticized by those who had access to documents that had not been printed. To meet this criticism, the editors must be able to say that all essential material had been published.

The German Foreign Minister, Stresemann, in his reply to Bülow and Neurath, said that he also was worried about the effect of publishing materials on the years immediately preceding the war; after all, many of the statesmen active then were still in office, or might return to office. In deciding what was to be published, "the fanaticism for truth of our historians" was, for the recent past, not a safe guide. Therefore, before publication, all documents would be reviewed by a former diplomat, "to avoid unnecessary damage to politicians who are still living." At the same time, if Mussolini or other politicians again made complaints, they were to be told that Germany had been driven to publish as the only means of countering the charge that Germany alone was responsible for the war. The *Entente* powers had rejected the German proposal for an impartial study of the origins of the war; publication was the only defense open to Germany. The effectiveness of the German action was shown by the decision of the British and the French to undertake similar publications.

The correspondence of the editors reveals several examples of Thimme's efforts to reconcile historical accuracy and the interests of German foreign policy. These, unfortunately, have not always been discussed with the precision needed for assessing accurately the defects of *Die Grosse Politik*. It has been stated, for instance, that Thimme omitted a document of 1905 because it would jeopardize the *Anschluss* with Austria. Actually, a large part of the document was printed, and included were statements that union with Austria would weaken Germany "especially from the Protestant point of view," and would give other powers an opportunity to sow discord in Germany. What was omitted was a long historical demonstration that the inclusion of the Austrian Catholics in Germany would, as in the past, weaken Germany. In other words, Thimme had quieted his historical conscience by giving the bare framework of the argument; he had sought to avoid damage to German policy in the twenties by omitting the develop-

ment of the argument. Where he really merits censure is in his footnote explaining the omission: "The further development of this idea belongs in another connection." Repeatedly one is driven to the conclusion that the text of *Die Grosse Politik* is as complete as could be expected in a collection dealing with the recent past; it is the footnotes that are misleading.

This is not to say that *Die Grosse Politik* is the complete story of German diplomacy. Important documents on military policy were omitted. There is almost nothing on intelligence operations, including payments to foreign newspapers. This, however, is a usual omission: the British and American governments were even sensitive to the possibility that evidence of their own intelligence operations might turn up in the captured German documents for the Nazi period. The files on economic and colonial activities were sparsely used by Thimme; here, by his own admission, he was most intent to protect the interests of German policy. Other files, such as those of the German embassy in London, were not examined, apparently from simple reluctance to add new burdens to an already overwhelming task. Probably the most important omissions were those required by the necessity to keep the collection to a reasonable size. For instance, the care with which in the last years of his rule Bismarck studied public opinion in Austria can be seen only from his frequent comments on newspaper clippings and reports on the Austrian press which were not published in *Die Grosse Politik*; this preoccupation with public opinion illuminates his policy.<sup>1</sup>

When all has been said, however, *Die Grosse Politik* still stands as a magnificent achievement for which historians are deeply indebted to Thimme and his colleagues. I do not believe that many scholars were led astray by the omissions or by the often tendentious footnotes, as Bernadotte Schmitt implied in his address to the American Historical Association two years ago. For myself, when I observed in 1923 that I was allowed to use only those documents already selected for publication by Thimme and when I had an opportunity to observe his vigorous and thoroughly German personality at close range, I concluded that, at the very least, the warts on the face of German diplomacy would not be emphasized in *Die Grosse Politik*.

No one, I suppose, would deny that the decision, as Stresemann put it, to

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted, for the evidence of Bismarck's preoccupation with Austrian public opinion, to Ruth Zerner, and for the analysis of the *Weltkrieg* file discussed below, to Ulrich Trumpener; more generally, for comparisons between *Die Grosse Politik* and the documents in the archives of the German Foreign Ministry, as well as for information on the problems of filming the documents in the archives, I have been helped by former colleagues in the Historical Office of the Department of State, particularly Fritz Epstein, G. Bernard Noble, Norman Rich, Bernadotte Schmitt, Howard M. Smyth, and Paul Sweet.



take refuge in frankness, was one of the most important and successful policy decisions of the Weimar Republic. In the view of the German government, the moral base of the Treaty of Versailles was the conviction that Germany was responsible for the war; if that base could be eroded, the treaty would be fatally weakened. Schmitt called *Die Grosse Politik* an extraordinarily effective piece of propaganda for the German cause. Might we not better say that the Allies, by their assertion of German responsibility for the war, gave the German government and German scholars an opportunity which they exploited with skill and courage, in face of much opposition at home?

The decision taken by the American and British governments in the summer of 1946 to publish *Documents on German Foreign Policy, 1918-1945*, was also based on considerations of foreign policy, and indeed on considerations flowing from the impact of *Die Grosse Politik* on European and American opinion. The two governments were convinced that Germany was responsible for the Second World War and that the documents in the captured archives of the German Foreign Ministry would clearly demonstrate that responsibility. The two governments recognized that, to inspire confidence, the documents must be selected by independent scholars who must be given complete freedom both to examine all the documents and to publish all documents they considered important. Furthermore, the governments, recalling how rapidly "revisionist" views on the origins of the First World War had developed, decided "that the work be begun and concluded as soon as possible."

How completely has the Anglo-American agreement of 1946, to which the French government soon acceded, been honored? During the three years when I was American editor in chief, the editors were, in the end, allowed to see all documents and to select for publication all documents they believed important for an understanding of German foreign policy. I have kept in close touch with the project and have complete confidence that the editors now have the same freedom. The freedom must, at times, be defended. If a friendly government is likely to be offended by the publication of a document, or a series of documents, the desk officer in the Department of State may assume that the objectionable material is not of sufficient importance to print. Never to my knowledge, however, have the editors been forced to accept the judgment of the desk officer, or even suggestions from higher officers in the Department. In the end, if the editors said a document was needed, it was printed. Undoubtedly, scholars working from the microfilms of the archives, or from the originals now available in Germany, will conclude that additional documents should have been printed, but the blame should be

placed on the carelessness or the bad judgment of the editors, and not on the governments. The governments, sometimes reluctantly, have always lived up to their promise to give the editors complete freedom.

Now let me return to A. J. P. Taylor's taunting comparison between the speed with which Thimme finished his task and the slowness of work on the captured German archives. Here the other picture of Berlin comes to mind, the Berlin of November 1946, at the beginning of the terrible winter when, it seemed, Western Europe, already weakened by war, must perish of hunger and cold. The old Foreign Office and Chancellery were gone, and the huge pile of Hitler's new Chancellery stood, half wrecked, as a monument to the vanity of the thousand-year *Reich*. The Foreign Ministry archives were now housed in a barracks near Tempelhof airfield. From the window of the room where a few British, French, and American scholars worked, one looked out on the bombed ruin of a great latrine, the roof and walls gone, the porcelain fixtures standing in bizarre orderly rows. As one drove back at night from the frigid barracks to the warmth of the American military headquarters, the headlights picked out for an instant the little carts of twigs drawn by old people and children, the one protection of the "natives" against the deepening cold.

The position of the British, French, and American scholars was not only uncomfortable; it was precarious. Berlin was under military occupation. General Lucius Clay's task was formidable, overwhelming, and he quite naturally took a dim view of scholars who occupied precious space, ate precious food, and required precious facilities at a time when everything was scarce. It is a tribute to the genius of this proconsul that all of us who lived in fear of the lightning that flashed around his head felt it a privilege to see his handiwork at close range. But it was not a relaxing experience, never to know whether the work would continue. Very quickly another hazard intruded: the fear that Berlin might be cut off from the West, the fear which was to deepen when ground communication with the West was first impaired and then severed in the spring of 1948. After months of uncertainty, the archives were prepared for shipment to England. When, at last, the documents were shelved at Whaddon Hall, near Bletchley, Bucks, it seemed that orderly work was at last possible under tolerable conditions. Whaddon Hall has, I believe, the distinction of being the only really ugly Georgian country house, and the great hall has all the cozy comfort of Grand Central Station, but it was an improvement over Berlin. Very quickly, however, uncertainty revived as the Germans asked ever more vigorously for the return

of their archives; there was fear that the archives might be returned before the editors had examined all the files.

The work had a precarious quality also because, before the project was really functioning, the policy of revealing the evidence "at the earliest possible moment" began to lose strength; fear of revived German power was soon overshadowed by fear of Soviet power. As a result, budget support lessened. The staff never attained the size originally projected, and each year it became harder to secure funds. As uncertainty about the continuance of the project grew, it became harder to recruit scholars.

All of these uncertainties explain the decision to sacrifice speed of publication in order to microfilm as much of the collection as possible. If the volumes never appeared, scholars could work from the microfilms. The decision was made before systematic study of the archives was possible. What the editors had was tons, hundreds of tons, of bundles of documents. Priority of microfilming could only be determined by sampling and by the title of the file. For instance, during the Berlin blockade, when time was running out, it was decided to microfilm what seemed the obviously important file on the years from 1914 to 1918, the vast collection labeled *Weltkrieg*; the initial volumes of the file appeared to confirm the importance of the whole. Actually, the most significant documents had been placed in this file only during the first days of the war. Very soon the important documents had been diverted to other files, and by 1915 the *Weltkrieg* file received only routine papers. Again, it was logical to assume that copies of all important papers would be placed in the files of the Foreign Minister and the State Secretary. In fact, these files, while indispensable for the study of particular problems or episodes, are less important for many purposes than files of apparently much lower level.

Looking back, it is clear that mass microfilming, as opposed to selective microfilming, was unnecessary and time consuming. At the time, in ignorance both of the future and of the contents of the files, the decision seemed wise.

The files for the Nazi period raised a special problem. In those years the sound principle, that documents should be seen only by those who needed to know, was carried to such ludicrous lengths that closely related documents might be scattered through many files. More important, so much of Nazi diplomacy was conducted through people outside the Foreign Ministry that only fragmentary traces were left in the archives, and these traces could be discerned only by vigilant study.

These problems were not appreciated at the outset because the first prob-

lem studied by the American editors presented no difficulty. The most obviously interesting story in Nazi diplomacy was that of relations with the Soviet Union. Naturally, in attempting to explore the problem of finding and selecting documents, it was decided to use Nazi-Soviet relations as a test. The results were most gratifying: collection and selection proceeded quickly and easily. What was not realized was that the materials were there just because, in dealing with the Soviet Union, Hitler could negotiate only through the embassy in Moscow or through the Soviet embassy in Berlin.

Pleased with the results of their experiments, the editors in Washington had the documents translated and showed the resultant collection to policy officers in the Department. They read with interest and suggested others in the Department who would be interested. The suggestion was made that the collection be published in a volume separate from the general series. This suggestion was debated through the fall of 1947. Secretary of State George Marshall withheld his consent until he could explore once more the possibility of reaching an accommodation with the Soviet Union at the Foreign Ministers' Conference to be held in London in November. Meanwhile, the documents were printed by the Government Printing Office. The Secretary returned at Christmas and approved publication. The volume on *Nazi-Soviet Relations, 1939-1941*, appeared in January 1948.

As an independent scholar, this episode was interesting to me. It was heartening to note the sobriety with which the evidence of Soviet collaboration with the Nazis was discussed in the Department. It was an unforgettable experience to follow the intense efforts of Secretary Marshall and the Department to reach agreement with the Soviet Union, in other words, to avert the situation within which we live today. Finally this was a test of the accusations that were then being made of faulty security, or worse, within the Department. It is impossible to know how many people in the Department, and in the Government Printing Office, knew that the documents on Nazi-Soviet collaboration were being printed during the autumn of 1947. Scores, probably a hundred or more, must have known. Yet there is every evidence that publication of the volume surprised the Soviet government. Thereafter I never lost confidence in the security of the Department.

Even before the volume on Nazi-Soviet relations appeared, the editors had become painfully aware that the remainder of their task would be incomparably more difficult. A few files had yielded the essential evidence on German relations with the Soviet Union; the evidence on other subjects was scattered through an enormous number of files. Slowly, by trial and error, the editors at Whaddon Hall worked their way through the maze of files

and began to compile lists of the significant documents on the most obviously important phases of German policy from 1918 to 1945. To save the editors in chief the labor of searching for each of these documents through thousands of rolls of microfilm, a new film was prepared for each topic, containing not only the documents selected but editorial notes explaining the notations on the documents, including the location of other documents referred to in the selected documents.

The preparation of this "Whaddon special film" was completed some time ago, but publication lagged because of shortage of funds, and eventually the three governments decided that the project would cover only the years from 1933 to 1941. Moreover, the governments decided to stop publication of the volumes in German, although the German edition is most useful to scholars. Then the German government agreed to publish the German edition of the volumes which had already appeared in English and proposed that the four governments cooperate in completing the German edition for the whole period from 1918 to 1945. A year ago this proposal was accepted, but the quadripartite teams have not yet assembled at Bonn. So far as one can tell, publication of the documents for the period 1933-1941 is likely to be completed within the next two or three years. Publication of the record of German diplomacy from 1918 to 1933 and from 1942 to 1945 is, however, unlikely to be completed within the next decade.

This is disheartening. To be sure, films of the documents for the Weimar period have been deposited in the National Archives, and scholars can obtain copies of these films. But work in the films of these disordered files is a most frustrating experience. What it means is that each individual scholar must do what it took years for the tripartite teams at Whaddon to do: learn to work his way through a baffling maze of files. Indeed the task is infinitely harder because the editors at Whaddon could work with the volumes of documents open before them; the private scholar cannot work with a battery of twenty or thirty film projectors before him.

If, on the other hand, the private scholar had access to the "Whaddon special film," he could know which documents the experts at Whaddon, working as a group, thought were important on the subjects covered in the special film, and he would have full information on the location in the general film collection of every related document.

It is hard to see why the "Whaddon special film" has not been put at the disposition of private scholars. It is no answer to say that the films of all the documents are in the National Archives. They are there, but I know from experience how hard it is to find in that mountain of material, not an indi-

vidual document, but the connected sequence of documents which tell the story of any part of German diplomacy. After all, our government financially supported this project so that the evidence would be made available "as soon as possible." The evidence could be made available at once. Why, then, must scholars wait a decade, probably much longer?

This one criticism of the editors of *Documents on German Foreign Policy* should not obscure their larger achievement. Thimme completed *Die Grosse Politik* much more quickly, but he did not work "virtually unaided." He was served by many assistants, some of whom were to develop into scholars of distinction. He was aided by the permanent staff of the Foreign Office. Above all, he and those who worked with him were sustained and inspired by the conviction that their work served the vital interests of their country. Those who worked on the captured German documents had, at the outset, some small portion of that inspiration. For instance, while every effort was made to explore the story of Nazi-Soviet collaboration with scholarly objectivity, the care with which the documents were studied by the policy officers of the Department of State, and above all the connection between the publication of *Nazi-Soviet Relations, 1939-1941*, and a major shift in American foreign policy, inevitably intensified the interest of the editors in their work. Thereafter, however, work on the documents moved from the center to the periphery of events, symbolized by the shift from beleaguered Berlin to bucolic Whaddon Hall. There the work proceeded in almost monastic isolation, sustained only by the knowledge that, whatever critics like A. J. P. Taylor might say, the cause of scholarship was being served.

What is most remarkable is the fact of cooperation through so many years and under such trying circumstances of scholars drawn from three nations, the fact that common devotion to scholarship transcended national differences. Now the work has shifted back to Germany, and German scholars are participating in the task. Indeed, one of the editors appointed by the German government helped to launch the project as an American editor. May this be a harbinger of cooperation transcending national frontiers, cooperation which will spread from scholarship to the community of Western peoples.

# The Cold War: Four Contemporary Appraisals

JOHN L. SNELL\*

THE fortune-favored American past has conditioned many of our contemporaries to believe that nothing should check our national will or jeopardize the security that this nation has so abundantly and cheaply enjoyed; that problems arise for the United States only to be solved, and to be solved quickly, not to be lived with; that there are only two sides to any question, the right and the wrong; that failures in international politics are the inexcusable results of either foolish or treasonous leadership.

Americans who think in these terms have found the cold war to be a frustrating experience. While they stand on both extremes of the political spectrum, those on the Right have been the more vocal since World War II. One of the Right's many attempts at recent history, a lengthy film produced by the National Education Program of Harding College and Searcy, Arkansas, in 1960-1961 offered its own explanation of the cold war to more than thirty million Americans. It created—and at this time continues to create—the kind of illusion of “encirclement” that more than once has led nations into unrealistic and suicidal foreign policy decisions. It erroneously contends or strongly implies that Franklin D. Roosevelt's recognition of the USSR saved it from collapse in 1933; that “infiltration” rather than the Red Army brought Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Hungary, East Germany, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Czechoslovakia under Soviet control between 1940 and 1948; that Roosevelt at Yalta turned Poland over to Stalin; that China was brought under Communist rule because of American policies at Yalta; that the United States lost the Korean War because American political leaders, inept or worse, frustrated the sensible purposes of brave generals; that socialism is entrenched in most of Western Europe; and that socialism is only the prelude to Communism.

The Rightists now have no monopoly over the distortion of recent history. Their insistence that American policy since 1933, through folly or treason, has consistently been “soft on Communism” is matched in historical unreliability, in my opinion, by the contradictory argument in two of three

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publications discussed here.<sup>1</sup> D. F. Fleming and Joseph P. Morray contend that the capitalistic West has been unrelievably hostile toward the USSR and has caused the cold war. Neither acknowledges the aggressive attitude of Communism as an ideology or as a state toward the capitalistic democracies. In reading them, one is reminded of the classic innocence of Stalin in 1936 when he was asked whether Soviet intentions to achieve world revolution had been abandoned: "We never had such plans and intentions."<sup>2</sup>

"I have sought, at every stage," Fleming writes, "to present the other side, how it looks to 'the enemy,' in the belief that this is essential to the avoidance of the final grand smash" (p. xiii). Neither the factual evidence nor the research methods of the author—a professor emeritus of political science—will seem impressive to historians. Fleming relies heavily on the Nashville *Tennessean* and secondary works by such writers as Konne Zilliacus, F. L. Schuman, Herbert L. Matthews, and W. P. and Zelda Coates. No published diplomatic documents of any nation are cited in the many footnotes of his chapters on European diplomacy between the two world wars. No foreign-language sources are cited. For the years since 1945 the author has relied heavily upon a few journalists whose views Fleming endows with mature historical judgment on contemporary events. His index gives more space to Walter Lippmann than to Churchill, Roosevelt, or Stalin; more to James B. Reston than to Eisenhower; more to C. L. Sulzberger than to Adenauer, the Yalta Conference, or Khrushchev; more to Samuel Grafton than to Georges Bidault or Charles de Gaulle.

Fleming's volumes abound in what I consider illusions about the USSR and Soviet policy. In several instances the lack of definitive historical studies leaves room for intelligent disagreement, but too many judgments are founded on assumption and political preference rather than on historical evidence. A few examples will indicate the drift of the illusions. The Comintern is mentioned only briefly, and Fleming writes that its purpose, like that of the Cominform in 1947, "was defensive" (p. 482). Stalin "would have been delighted" by the presence of Western armies in Poland in 1943-1944 (p. 247). Stalin "hated the Germans too much . . . to wish to share his communist religion with them" (p. 244). Stalin at Yalta "asked" for only "three" separate United Nations memberships (p. 199). The USSR disarmed in 1945-1946, seeking a "real relaxation of tension" (p. 433). Western policy subse-

<sup>1</sup> D. F. Fleming, *The Cold War and Its Origins, 1917-1960* (2 vols., New York, 1961); Joseph P. Morray, *From Yalta to Disarmament: Cold War Debate* (New York, 1961). The final volume reviewed in this essay is Bernhard G. Bechhoefer, *Postwar Negotiations for Arms Control* (Washington, D. C., 1961).

<sup>2</sup> Leonard Schapiro, *The Communist Party of the Soviet Union* (New York, 1960), 484.

quently led the Russians "to arm" (p. 249). Illusions about the Soviets are matched in the Fleming volumes by what seem, even given the present inconclusive state of historical knowledge, to be illusions about the West and Western policies. Western intervention in the Russian civil war was on a "large-scale" (p. 20). Far from wanting to stop Hitler's eastward movement in 1938, "his logical opponents in the West were anxious to help him" (p. 76). The Soviets in 1939 "dreaded a pact with Germany, yet the West offered them nothing" (p. 111).

In Fleming's opinion, the major cause of the cold war after 1945 was the refusal of the West to accept what is portrayed as the logical consequences of World War II, Soviet dominance in Asia and in Central Eastern Europe. The ascendancy and victory of Chinese Communism are treated with sympathy. Fleming emphasizes its independence of the USSR before 1950, but offers no discussion of growing Peking-Moscow tensions in the years after 1950. He builds a case (pp. 594-600, 654) for the Communist argument that South Korea (plus, it is hinted, Dulles, MacArthur, and Chiang) initiated hostilities in 1950. The decision in Washington to move United Nations forces into North Korea was "the cardinal error in our foreign policy to date" (p. 655). Fleming is so preoccupied with developments in the Far East that he is blind to many events of major importance in Europe. He ignores the movement toward European economic integration and the pivotal debates over a European Defense Community. He almost completely neglects the nature of Soviet policy in Germany and the recovery and political consolidation of West Germany. Western policies in Europe that cannot be ignored are usually denounced. The Truman Doctrine in 1947 seemed to be a defensive necessity; Fleming presents it as a warmongering, reactionary, and needless act. The policy of "containment" is generally treated as an "encirclement" of the USSR, "a fateful turn . . . from a post-war period to a pre-war atmosphere" (p. 474). Among its other faults, Fleming writes, it "revivified fully the machinery of totalitarian rule in Russia" (p. 1046)—as though there had been some relaxation of that rule before 1947.

Briefly a light of hope for American salvation shines through when Fleming discusses the developments of 1955. But this is short lived; President Eisenhower "at once turned the direction of affairs over to Mr. Dulles again" (p. 791). Fleming treats the revolts of 1956 in Poland and Hungary with some sympathy, but he sees in United States policy toward them only "the inability of American diplomacy to leave its cold war grooves" (p. 791). In defense of Soviet repression, and in a typical overstatement that reflects

his inadequate awareness of Soviet realities, Fleming writes that "the falling dominoes" might soon have led "to demands for independence in the Soviet Baltic states" (p. 801).

Since Fleming is convinced that the cold war has been caused by the West, and primarily since 1945 by American policy, he believes it can be ended only if the West will "withdraw" from its "circle of containment" (p. 1075)—from West Berlin, Formosa, and the Middle East. Like the Rightists who made "Communism on the Map," Fleming wants to stop the cold war. His recommendations would surely end it, for the quickest way to end a war has always been to lose it.

Many of Fleming's views on major issues in the cold war since 1945 are given less exhaustively by Joseph P. Morray. Morray acknowledges the help of "the sixty members of my Speech 138 class at the University of California during the 1960 spring term, with whom I studied and discussed many of the documents on which the text relies" (p. x). He, like Fleming and the makers of "Communism on the Map," sees "an inexorable logic in the events of the Cold War" (p. ix). Morray is convinced that one of the two great powers "is executing the will of an all-powerful proletariat and the other the policy, more or less enlightened, of a still dominant bourgeoisie" (p. 36).

Morray believes the West has failed to live up to the Yalta agreements. He is wrong in his belief that Roosevelt at Yalta, in approving "democratic" reorganization in Central Eastern Europe, was also approving Soviet domination of the area. Like Fleming, Morray argues that Stalin had an irrefutable right to assure that Communist governments should dominate this area. He is ambiguous about North Korean responsibility for outbreak of war in 1950 (p. 167). He incorrectly contends that the United States insisted upon its right to use "any weapon in the Korean War, including gas and germ warfare" (p. 212).

A considerable amount of space in the Fleming study and four-fifths of Morray's book are devoted to arms control and disarmament negotiations since 1946. Fleming is bothered by American insistence on inspection as a prerequisite for agreements, contending that as late as 1958 "nothing had been learned since the abortive efforts . . . in 1946" (p. 864). Even the proposal put forth in 1946 by Bernard Baruch, "long known as a financier" (p. 67), is treated harshly by Morray. "In effect the United States government offered the Soviet Union a small power's seat in an organization likely to become an instrument for rescuing the world from the influence of Communism by

weakening the Soviet state and preparing it for destruction" (p. 79).<sup>3</sup> Morray favors what the Soviet Union has tirelessly promoted: agreements on disarmament without effective inspection and controls. He insists that the Soviets "have no cause to fear the economic effects of disarmament" (p. 158)<sup>4</sup> and that there is "no ground for expecting the Russians to cheat on a disarmament agreement in order to avoid losing their satellites" (p. 159). The Western powers, on the other hand, have only been stalling, "without any intention of agreeing to disarm" (p. 323). In his day Secretary of State James F. Byrnes ignored "the fact that the United States, and not the Soviet Union, stood in Hitler's position on the disarmament question" (p. 127). Morray's conclusion: "the Soviet Union wants our divided planet to be disarmed; the NATO governments do not" (p. 328).

One is tempted to conclude that Morray, like Fleming and the makers of "Communism on the Map," has produced a parody of history. It would be unscholarly to say with finality at this stage of historical research whether he has given us truth or error on some of the issues he treats. His own presumptuous finality in the absence of evidence stamps his book as a poor guide to the history of the cold war.

In discussing arms negotiations neither Morray nor Fleming gives sufficient attention to one of their most obvious aspects, their use as propaganda by the Soviet Union. This Bernhard G. Bechhoefer does in the third study discussed here. A lawyer now engaged in private practice, he served as a "senior officer of the Department of State on arms control and related questions from 1946 to 1958." Despite this personal involvement, Bechhoefer writes about these matters in a balanced, dispassionate, and critical spirit that is notably lacking in the works by Fleming and Morray. Supplementing his own experience by careful research in available documentary materials (his bibliography is impressive and useful), his aim is not to condemn, but to create understanding of the issues. Bechhoefer is more interested in technical problems than either Fleming or Morray, and he is more faithful in reporting developments in detail, stage by stage; he is, therefore, more tedious and more repetitive. Where Fleming and Morray fail to probe behind the cold war debate into policy formulation, Bechhoefer, at least in treating

<sup>3</sup> On these and related matters, more serious discussion is provided by Joseph L. Nogee, *Soviet Policy towards International Control of Atomic Energy* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1961), and Raymond L. Garthoff, *Soviet Strategy in the Nuclear Age* (New York, 1958).

<sup>4</sup> Compare the following statement by the man who in 1961 served as President Kennedy's adviser on disarmament: "in the United States a smaller proportion of the working population is dependent upon defense for employment than is the case in the Soviet Union." (John J. McCloy, "Balance Sheet on Disarmament," *Foreign Affairs*, XL [Apr. 1962], 351.)

United States policy, tells something of the evolving organizational structure through which policy has been made. Without straying long from his subject, he more sagely relates arms discussions to other contemporary developments in the cold war than does Morray or Fleming.

Bechhoefer is frequently critical of American policy in the arms negotiations, especially in the period 1948-1951, when the United States showed insufficient interest, initiative, vigor, or flexibility in pressing for a feasible agreement. Bechhoefer is impatient with the "all or nothing" attitude that American negotiators have sometimes taken on inspection and control. But all in all, American policy appears infinitely more positive and Soviet policy much less idealistic in Bechhoefer's study than in the Fleming and Morray volumes. "The evidence," he writes, "overwhelmingly shows Western support of feasible arms control" (p. 6). Bechhoefer shows that in 1948 the Soviet leaders revealed no interest in reducing conventional weapons because these weapons were "essential to their program of spreading communism" (pp. 93, 106). He convincingly demonstrates that "between 1947 and 1955, the Soviet proposals were too vague to permit discussion of specific safeguards machinery" (p. 66). Bechhoefer suggests that the Soviet Union during at least part of this period was deliberately "playing for time to develop its own atomic weapons programme" (pp. 79, 106).

Bechhoefer believes that mutual recognition of the destructive capacity of hydrogen weapons after 1953 gave more meaning to the arms negotiations. By 1956 Soviet leaders were at least occasionally proclaiming a new dogma, that "there is no fatal inevitability of war" between the Soviet bloc and the capitalistic countries (pp. 272-273), a dogma that recommended negotiations with the West. Bechhoefer believes that the 1957 negotiations in London were undertaken with a will on both sides to achieve limited agreements. No agreement on test suspension or other issues could be effected, especially after the United States insisted on its right to transfer nuclear weapons to the NATO countries, including Germany. But even more basic as a cause of failure to reach agreement on a "cutoff" of nuclear production, Bechhoefer believes, was Soviet unwillingness "to submit to a control program adequate to ensure the observance of the cutoff" (p. 364).

The old problem of 1946 was thus again present in 1957. It has not as yet been solved. Yet, as Bechhoefer points out, the suspension of nuclear testing and reductions in armed forces and weapons contemplated in the 1957 negotiations in fact did take place without an agreement. Developments in rocketry in 1957 and 1958 encouraged them until increased political tension in Berlin and elsewhere brought new expansions of armies in 1961.

Bechhoefer discusses the hopeful developments of 1958-1960 in detail. All that one can now add is his summation of the situation in 1960: it is not possible "to assert with conviction that the arms control negotiations have moved consistently toward the emergence of explicit or tacit accords" (p. 573). Tentatively, Bechhoefer thinks they have. The resumption of nuclear testing in 1961 by the Russians proved that they were unwilling to believe that the choice is simply "between the quick and the dead." Bechhoefer apparently is, too. He concludes with what seems under the circumstances the only reasonable recommendation: "The United States, and if possible other Western Powers, should maintain and increase their military strength . . . until the world has incontrovertible evidence that the efforts to limit armaments under international safeguards will be at least partially successful" (p. 581).

The lesson of this review-essay should be clear. It is that the cold war is too important a matter to the people of this nation and the world to leave its interpretation to doctrinaire political spokesmen or pseudo scholars. The cold war is now at least seventeen years of history. It has received scant attention from historians. It is time it did. Though our own government is moving to make documents available to within fifteen years of the present, definitive works will not be written easily or quickly. But with the discipline and the breadth of spirit of the historian's craft, we can put many matters in proper balance. We can also point to questions for which the evidence affords no final answers and thus assure that better work by other historians will follow our own. The opportunity for simultaneous service to historical scholarship and the public interest is as great as historians have ever been offered, for if our policy is to be wise and successful, it must be founded upon a realistic view of the recent past. That view will show the cold war as tragedy, not as melodrama.

# The Myth of Populist Anti-Semitism

NORMAN POLLACK\*

WAS Populism anti-Semitic? Criticism of Populism based on this issue must be challenged on the facts of the case.<sup>1</sup> This study, based on primary materials in the state historical societies of Minnesota, Nebraska, Wisconsin, and Kansas, and the Library of Congress, concludes that the incidence of Populist anti-Semitism was infinitesimal.<sup>2</sup>

The three most extensive manuscript collections reflecting midwestern Populist views—the papers of Henry D. Lloyd, William Jennings Bryan (included here because many of his correspondents during the 1896 campaign were Populists), and Ignatius Donnelly—contain, during the 1890–1896 period, no anti-Semitic statements in the first two cases, and only four in the last. The few instances where Jews were even mentioned in the first two collections have distinctly philo-Semitic connotations. In the only relevant letter in the Lloyd Papers, Lloyd asked Annie L. Diggs whether there was room for “some Russian Jews” in a proposed cooperative settlement. She replied, “As to the Russian Jews of whom you speak—Why we are not to consider Nationality or Religion, but only intelligence and devotion to the principles of cooperation.”<sup>3</sup> Likewise, the one relevant letter in the Bryan Papers suggests the absence of anti-Semitism. “Though your idea on the money question is against the policy of my correlative [sic throughout] brothers Rotchilds the Bankers,” wrote a Jewish clothing merchant to Bryan, “I assure you that it gives the greatest pleasure to think only that I have an opportunity to use my influence and give you my support through my maiden ballot. . . .” Nor can free silver be taken as presumptive evidence of anti-Semitism, the writer

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<sup>1</sup> For an appraisal of the already existing critical literature on Populism, see C. Vann Woodward, “The Populist Heritage and the Intellectual,” *American Scholar*, XXIX (Winter 1959–60), 55–72.

<sup>2</sup> For the most fully documented contrary view, see Oscar Handlin, “American Views of the Jew at the Opening of the Twentieth Century,” *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, XL (June 1951), 323–44.

<sup>3</sup> Henry D. Lloyd to Annie L. Diggs, Sept. 23, 1895, Diggs to Lloyd, Sept. 27, 1895, Henry D. Lloyd Papers, Wisconsin Historical Society. Mrs. Diggs, as the Washington correspondent for the *Topeka Advocate*, reported a convention of national women’s club presidents in these terms: “Christian and Jew getting closer together, getting acquainted, each finding out the other better than they had known, each laboring to advance righteousness and withal learning the great truth that religion is not of creeds, race or nationality, but is an essence, a life, an aspiration and an endeavor to reach the heights.” (*Topeka Advocate*, Mar. 6, 1895.)



continued, "for a cause like the one you stand for it is to deliver our people from the enslavers of the gold bondage."<sup>4</sup>

The Donnelly Papers contain three anti-Semitic statements in the correspondence, and one in letterpress. Of the former, one from a country merchant accuses Donnelly of defending Jewish peddlers, itself suggesting not only an ambivalence in Donnelly but a likely source of rural anti-Semitism in that the country merchant, unlike the farmer, feared the peddler's competition and lower prices.<sup>5</sup> As for Donnelly himself, the evidence seems to indicate that he was anti-Semitic. Yet, the form this took has been totally misunderstood by those who fasten upon his *Caesar's Column* as an anti-Semitic tract. The work's one vulnerable passage reveals not concern over Jewish world domination and revenge but rather Donnelly's groping, ambivalent, and extremely painful stand on the moral problem of who is more blameworthy, Jews or their persecutors. Here his tone reflects compassion and regret; Jews have undergone "the most terrible ordeal of persecution the history of mankind bears any record of"<sup>6</sup> And when Donnelly places Jews in the forefront of both the oligarchic and revolutionary forces, he is exhibiting not a proneness to conspiracy theory but a nonmonolithic conception of Jewish people. In fact, Jews are treated with little or no self-consciousness in two further passages, becoming simply another group.<sup>7</sup> More important, the book's positive case indicates a pervasive humanistic spirit directly antithetical to anti-Semitism.<sup>8</sup> Finally, Donnelly's contemporaries did not regard *Caesar's Column* as anti-Semitic. None of his correspondents and only four of 184 newspaper reviews (from a remarkably comprehensive collection in the Donnelly scrapbooks) referred to its presence.<sup>9</sup>

Donnelly's anti-Semitism was indeed ambivalent and complex. In a single editorial he simultaneously blamed and defended Jews. On the one hand, "In these evil conditions, made by bad laws, the Jews alone thrive,—the reason is they deal only in money"; but further on, "We must not blame the Jews. Persecution forced them into their present channels." In fact, Christians were equally at fault in this process. "They [the Jews] were denied the right to own property, and nothing was left them but dealing in money," he con-

<sup>4</sup> Meyer Kamen to William Jennings Bryan, Oct. 30, 1896, William Jennings Bryan Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

<sup>5</sup> J. C. Fogarty to Ignatius Donnelly, Mar. 5, 1891, William Shenton to Donnelly, Feb. 20, 1893, Levi R. Pierce to Donnelly, Aug. [?], 1896, Donnelly to R. W. Johnson, June 20, 1896, Ignatius Donnelly Papers, Minnesota Historical Society.

<sup>6</sup> Ignatius Donnelly, *Caesar's Column: A Story of the Twentieth Century* (Chicago, 1891), 37-38.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 44, 234.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 3-5, 22, 40, 44-45, 200, *et passim*.

<sup>9</sup> Donnelly scrapbooks, CIX, Donnelly Papers. Donnelly did not influence the selection; in fact, he sought as many reviews as possible.

tinued, "and now their cunning, and the folly of the mud-headed Christian statesmen, have put things in such shape that man, industry, property, wealth are all the slaves of an artificial thing called money." The core of his anti-Semitism is the identification of Jews with capitalism. Donnelly did not oppose Jewish people as such; he attacked only those Jews associated with capitalism. "Some Yankee said," he wrote in a newspaper editorial the next week, "'there are deacons and deacons.' And so we might say, there are Jews and Jews. There are Jews that are an honor to the human race, and there are Jews that are a disgrace to it." Further, "And a plutocratic Jew is no worse than a plutocratic Christian;—in fact he is not half as bad." As in *Caesar's Column*, Donnelly returns here to the persecution theme, capturing a sense of Jewish suffering which cannot but suggest deep conviction. "For the Jew, for nearly 2,000 years, has been proscribed, persecuted, hunted down; fenced into the corners of towns; hounded, pelted and stoned by ignorant populations, whose ancestors were savage barbarians when the Jews were preserving the knowledge of the one true God. . . ." This is not a wholesale condemnation of Jews; Donnelly never attacked radical Jews: "Karl Marx, the Jew reformer, faces Rothschild, the Jew plutocrat." Donnelly's anti-Semitism therefore bears little relation to twentieth-century manifestations; nowhere will one find here the extermination camp. "No; no. We would not persecute the Jews. What we meant was that they have become conspicuous, as types of the Plutocrat, because they excel all the other people in the capacity to accumulate wealth." He concluded, "We are fighting Plutocracy not because it is Jewish or Christian, but because it is Plutocracy,—destructive of the world, eventually destructive even of itself."<sup>10</sup>

Donnelly's diaries reveal views similar to those above—tolerance punctuated by occasional anti-Semitic outbursts. He was not obsessed with the topic; there are two anti-Semitic entries for 1890, and only two more in the next six years, the second and last alone being virulent. But Donnelly is hardly typical of Populism.<sup>11</sup> The Minnesota and Wisconsin historical societies

<sup>10</sup> St. Paul *Representative*, Sept. 5, 12, 1894. Significantly, Donnelly ended the second editorial: "We would be sorry to be understood as saying one word that would pander to prejudice against any man, because of his race, religion, nationality or color." This was not an idle statement; his career was distinguished by militant opposition to the American Protective Association and to racism. One Negro praised Donnelly as "an oasis in the Negro's desert," for having written *Doctor Huguet* (Chicago, 1891). (Lorenzo L. Burke to Donnelly, July 12, 1894, Donnelly Papers.)

<sup>11</sup> Donnelly diaries, two undated memoranda, 1890, undated memorandum, 1892, undated memorandum, 1896, Donnelly Papers. Fulfilling a speaking engagement, Donnelly recorded on June 25, 1893, that he was "met at depot by Mr. Block, who had written me to come here and met me at Ottawa." Here Donnelly's observations become important, revealing not only his attitude toward Jews but the fact that Block is both Jewish and a leading Populist: "He is the leading Populist of the Co. He looks like a German—fair skin, light hair, straight nose; and yet, strange to say, he is a Jew—full-blooded." Donnelly added, "He is a Henry George

contain no other evidence of Populist anti-Semitism. Nor does one find a trace of anti-Semitism in the Lorenzo D. Lewelling papers and other Populist materials in Kansas. The only relevant evidence in this society was the statement of a Jewish man, recording his active support of Bryan in 1896: "I was removed from Post Office Aug. 1st, 1897. I had worked too hard for Democratic victory in 1896."<sup>12</sup> At the Nebraska Historical Society there was no anti-Semitism in the William V. Allen Papers and other Populist manuscript collections. Likewise, the state Farmers' Alliance record books, an unusually rich source for grass-roots sentiments, are free from anti-Semitism.

Populist newspapers slightly alter the picture. The Lincoln, Nebraska, *Farmers' Alliance*, for example, contained two anti-Semitic statements from 1889 to 1896—an attack on Edward Rosewater, an influential liberal Republican from Omaha, in 1891, and a comment on the Brussels monetary conference the following year.<sup>13</sup> Significantly, Rosewater, who was proud of his Jewish background, saw no anti-Semitism in Populism; he broke party lines to support Silas A. Holcomb, People's party candidate for governor in 1894. Nor did Holcomb regard Rosewater's endorsement as a liability: "To your courage and untiring effort in attacking the combination of corporate interest is due, in a great measure, my success and the defeat of these enemies of good government."<sup>14</sup>

A further search into the leading Populist papers in the seven strongest Populist counties of Nebraska provides little additional evidence.<sup>15</sup> The files of these papers are not complete, several papers not appearing until the middle of the period, but no anti-Semitism was found from 1890 to November 1895.<sup>16</sup> In that month the Custer County *Beacon* carried an article from a Denver paper attacking the Rothschilds. The *Beacon* apparently saw the Rothschilds more as international bankers than Jews; in the next issue it

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Singletax man, and a Karl Marx socialist. Marx was also a Jew. The Israelites are a strange race. They are not all old-clothes men." Thus, while regarding Jews in stereotyped terms, Donnelly was bewildered when the stereotype proved inadequate. Unlike the virulent anti-Semite, he recognized and was troubled by the contradiction between the stereotype and his experience. He did not simply interpret experience in terms of the stereotype and thereby eliminate all possibility of uneasiness.

<sup>12</sup> August Bondi, *Autobiography* (Galesburg, Ill., 1910), 131.

<sup>13</sup> Lincoln *Farmers' Alliance*, Nov. 26, 1891; Lincoln *Alliance-Independent*, Dec. 15, 1892.

<sup>14</sup> Silas A. Holcomb to Edward Rosewater, Nov. 27, 1894, contained in Victor Rosewater, "The Life and Times of Edward Rosewater," unpublished manuscript, Chap. xxix, Nebraska Historical Society.

<sup>15</sup> See *Nebraska Blue Book* (Lincoln, 1918), 453-60, for the voting returns indicating the strongest Populist counties. The papers selected were: Custer County *Beacon*, Kearney *New Era-Standard*, Nuckolls County *Herald*, Phelps County *Weekly Progress*, Platte County *Argus*, Polk County *Independent*, and Saunders County *New Era*.

<sup>16</sup> One interesting item during this period comes from heavily Populist Cuming County. Bennett Goldsmith, a Jewish merchant, was overwhelmingly elected to the state legislature on the Republican ticket. See Cuming County *Advertiser*, August 15, 1893, for an account of his premature death, which described the extraordinary devotion of his constituents.

called J. P. Morgan "the Rothschild of America."<sup>17</sup> In early 1896 the Saunders County *New Era* referred to "the Wall Street, English, Rothschilds gold bug money syndicate" and "London Jew syndicates."<sup>18</sup> There was, then, some grass-roots anti-Semitism, but a negligible amount, and that confined to half of the papers examined. One further short-lived but severe outbreak occurred in mid-1896, when the *Beacon* and *New Era* viciously denounced the appointment of a rabbi as chaplain for the Republican national convention. The *Beacon* treated the incident in these terms: "It was fitting that this convention of gold worshippers should select a Jew to pray for them, for the fellows behind the scenes were Jews—the same class of fellows that persecuted the saints and crucified Christ."<sup>19</sup>

Populism contained some anti-Semitism. Yet the evidence, or lack of it, proves that the anti-Semitism thesis is invalid. By initiating a spirited discussion, the critics of Populism have performed a real service. They have forced the students of Populism to re-examine the premises and study the evidence in a fresh light. In this way one can now state more confidently than before that Populism deserves its old reputation as a democratic social force. For many, as for Henry D. Lloyd in 1894, the People's party was "more than the organized discontent of the people." It was "the organized aspiration of the people for a fuller, nobler, richer, kindlier life for every man, woman, and child in the ranks of humanity." To them, Populism represented "the hope of realizing and incarnating in the lives of the common people the fullness of the divinity of humanity."<sup>20</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Custer County *Beacon*, Nov. 7, 14, 1895.

<sup>18</sup> Saunders County *New Era*, Jan. 9, Mar. 12, 1896. The *Beacon* referred to "London Jews" on March 5, 1896, and the *New Era-Standard*, to the "Jew gold bankers of England" and "Henry Clews, the hook-nosed Jew of Wall Street," respectively, on June 19 and July 24, 1896.

<sup>19</sup> Custer County *Beacon*, July 2, 1896; see *Beacon*, June 18, July 9, Aug. 26, 1896, for shorter comments and Saunders County *New Era*, June 18, July 23, 1896.

<sup>20</sup> Quoted in *Chicago Times*, Nov. 4, 1894, scrapbook of newspaper clippings (Box 66), Lloyd Papers.

\* \* \* \* *Reviews of Books* \* \* \* \*

General

THE TWO REFORMATIONS IN THE 16TH CENTURY: A STUDY OF THE RELIGIOUS ASPECTS AND CONSEQUENCES OF RENAISSANCE AND HUMANISM. By *H. A. Enno van Gelder*. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1961. Pp. x, 406. Glds. 22.50.)

THE two reformations to which this book refers are the Protestant and the humanist. The term humanist refers to those who had come under the influence of the classics. The most outstanding representative of this group was Erasmus, who, by the way, though he founded no church, has had a continuing influence particularly in his native Holland. The main points of this humanist reformation are summarized as follows: religion as a philosophy of life; ritual minimized, with sacraments as symbols; salvation attached not to the historic Christ but to an inner experience; man, not wholly corrupt, through reason can attain to God; Christianity as a religion not altogether distinctive; reason applied somewhat more than previously to opinions and rituals. This movement had its beginnings in Renaissance Italy with such figures as Pico and Pomponazzi and spread thence to France where it was led by men like Lefevre, to England as represented by Colet and More, to Germany under such figures as Mutianus Rufus, and it was expanded in the next generation in France by Rabelais, Bodin, and Montaigne, in England by Marlowe, Spenser, and Shakespeare. Spain receives a side glance; Poland is omitted. The author contrasts the humanist reformation with the Protestant, exemplified in Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin, and notes that the humanist variety invaded the Protestant camp with such figures as Franck and the Anabaptists.

This is a more comprehensive survey than we have had hitherto of the movement of liberal Catholicism in the opening decades of the sixteenth century. Other treatments have less scope, such as Stadelmann for the late Middle Ages, Renaudet for France, and Bataillon for Spain. The author has read much of the recent literature and has delved into the sources sufficiently to gain a "feel," though in some instances, Sebastian Franck in particular, the quotations are all taken from secondary accounts. The summary is sound: this movement was not frivolous and not consciously anti-Catholic, but was subversive, not only of Catholicism but of historical Christianity by a subtle transmutation of values.

The book invites critical discussion at the point of the periodization of history. The author calls the humanist reformation "modern," without defining the term. Apparently he means that this viewpoint has come to be the religion of the intelli-

gentsia in the Western world. Although he calls it the "major" reformation, he does not pretend that it enjoyed a numerical majority in its own time. What he is essentially saying is that the Enlightenment stems from the Renaissance. But by the Renaissance he does not mean the total culture of Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The Renaissance, as he uses the term, is that element in the religion of the period called the Renaissance which was new. He does not make clear whether he means new with reference to that which immediately preceded or new with reference to the total history of Christianity.

At this point his judgments are altogether too categorical. He declares, for example, that prior to 1500 no one would have dared to say, "St. Socrates pray for me." Certainly Dante did not go so far, but in the second century Justin Martyr came as close to canonizing Socrates and Musonius as one well could before there was any canonization. Gelder tells us that when Dürer painted himself as the man of sorrows he gave an example of the "esteem of man typical of the Renaissance." As a matter of fact this is a medieval theme. One finds it in the book called "The Conformities of St. Francis." We are told that the Middle Ages equated nature with sin. Did St. Francis in the "Canticle of the Creatures"? Did Aquinas, for whom nature leads up to grace? Again man in the Middle Ages is said to have been petrified by fear of the devil. To be sure the devil plays a great role in "The Dialogs" of Caesar of Heisterbach and elsewhere, but not in Eckhart, Tauler, the *Theologia Germanica*, or in St. Francis. Medieval man, we are told, conceived of hell in terms of physical fire—yes, in the *Dies Irae*—whereas Erasmus innovated when he made hell into mental fear. But Augustine had long since said that hell is the perpetuation of unresolved conflicts. Medieval man, we hear, was consumed by the fear of death. Now this is a complicated theme. Bernard and Abelard were lyrical over the joys of the beyond. The fourteenth century developed the literature of the *Ars Moriendi*. But the theme was overdone. The populace sometimes became blasé. Some of the humanists were confident that he who was *integer vitae* need not worry. Luther and Loyola found surcease only through divine deliverance.

Relying on a number of competent scholars, Gelder finds Pico's statement that man is "the modeller and sculptor of his destiny" to contain a new view of man. But it is nothing other than a resurgence of Neoplatonic mysticism, which has always held that man is capable of ascent until identified with the ultimate one. The Christian mystics have the same theme, except that for them deification is attached to the incarnation of God in Christ mediated to man through the Eucharist. The absence of this element in Pico marks a change, but this is not the cult of man with unbounded possibilities. Another innovation in this period is said to be that the Trinity was interpreted in dynamic rather than static terms. But Richard of St. Victor had long since held the dynamic view. A great change is seen in that the art of the Italian Renaissance dropped the portrayal of the Passion of Christ in favor of the Nativity. This involves a shift, but a shift from

one cardinal Christian doctrine to another. One can find three stages in Christian iconography. During the first centuries, including the early Middle Ages, attention was focused on the Resurrection. The Cross does not even appear as a symbol before Constantine. The High Middle Ages centered on the Passion and displaced the draped and composed Byzantine crucifix with the man, nigh naked, writhing on the Cross. The Italian Renaissance shifted to the doctrine of the Incarnation.

Gelder's book is valuable for what it tells about the actual views of the men he describes, but his comparisons suffer from a lack of equal acquaintance with the earlier period.

*Yale University*

ROLAND H. BAINTON

REASON AND THE IMAGINATION: STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF IDEAS, 1600-1800. Edited by *J. A. Mazzeo*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1962. Pp. viii, 321. \$6.50.)

THE historian of literature has in a generation been metamorphosed. Where once he was largely content to follow a thumbnail biography with a summary of the author's works, including one bow to style, another to forerunners, and a third to successors, he now needs to analyze that writer's place in the history of thought. From carving headstones such a historian has turned to refining the intellectual milieu. Beginning where his predecessor left off he sees his subject not as ornament—a beautiful angel beating his wings in a void—but as the supreme expression of his own time and the prophet of the next generation. In this metamorphosis no one has had a larger part than the scholar to whom this volume is both tribute and testimony, Marjorie Hope Nicolson; for specific evidence of her bequest one need but scan the bibliography appended to the fourteen essays by compeers and students.

Fourteen essays by fourteen authors cannot, despite the editor's care, avoid being "yoked by violence together." Two centuries, and such centuries, of the history of ideas have no prescribed theme. What of it? This volume is not to be outlined for a lecture or two; it is to be read for enlightenment on topics already considered. To be sure the illumination will vary, for several essays are technical to a degree that the reader may well find nearly everything about the subject except what the writer is up to, or that the author under discussion is a poet. Historians, as Miss Nicolson has observed (*The Breaking of the Circle* [rev. ed., 1961]), are indulgent with poets; they are also, contrary to her assertion, indulgent with thinkers who assert half a dozen conflicting premises. Whether their indulgence extends to pieces which if put forward in the classroom must bring the decline and fall of English literature in far shorter time than that taken by the Roman Empire is another matter.

Notwithstanding its obscurities the volume throughout offers nourishment to



the historian of taste. Could such a volume twenty-five years ago have limited John Donne to eight incidental references, seven in the essay on Herrick as a devotional poet? Miss Nicolson's *Breaking of the Circle*, first published in 1950, gave much more attention to Donne than to Marvell and Milton combined, but in this volume Marvell (who may well be the next fad) inspires J. A. Mazzeo's metaphoric excursion, "Cromwell as a Davidic King," and Milton permeates five diverse essays, testimony alike to Miss Nicolson's own interests and to the pervasive genius through whose works race all the crosscurrents of a turbulent century. In addition to "Milton's Dialogue on Astronomy" by A. O. Lovejoy, "Music, Mirth, and Galenic Tradition in England" (Gretchen Finney), "Eve and Dalila: Renovation and the Hardening of the Heart" (Mary Radzinowicz), "The Bird, the Blind Bard, and the Fortunate Fall" (Anne Ferry), and "The Tragedy of God's Englishman" (William Haller) are Miltonic.

Of all the essays the ones likely to appeal most to plain historians are "The Isolation of the Renaissance Hero" (Douglas Bush), "The Humanistic Defence of Learning in the Mid-Seventeenth Century" (R. F. Jones), "The Augustan Conception of History" (Herbert Davis), and "Houyhnhnms, Yahoos, and History of Ideas" (R. S. Crane), though such reference does not preclude "Locke and Sterne" (Ernest Tuveson) and "Literary Criticism and Artistic Interpretation" (Ralph Cohen). If in some instances the content is tolerably well known the exposition will suggest new ways of viewing old assumptions.

University of Missouri

CHARLES F. MULLETT

THE COMING OF THE AGE OF STEEL. By *Theodore A. Wertime*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1962. Pp. xvi, 330. \$6.95.)

A CENTURY has now passed since the age of steel was inaugurated by the introduction of the Bessemer converter and the Siemens-Martin open-hearth furnace. These new processes were not merely important technological improvements. Their development resulted from the recognition by the practical steelmaker that, to ensure successful production, he must draw on the physical and chemical knowledge that nascent metallurgical science had accumulated. There was, then, at this time, a synthesis of theory and practice that provided a firm basis for the future technical progress of the steel industry.

Mr. Wertime's purpose is to describe the evolution of iron manufacturing in Europe and the early attempts at a science of metallurgy until this synthesis was accomplished. He does not pretend that his work will equal the monumental *Geschichte des Eisens* of Ludwig Beck or Cyril Stanley Smith's *A History of Metallography* as an account of either practical or theoretical developments in the iron and steel industry. Rather, he concentrates on certain technical, geographic, military, and scientific factors that he considers to be of importance in the transition from the age of iron to that of steel. In these areas of emphasis, the author has performed careful research into primary sources and has made definite contributions to the history of science and technology. But in attempting to

encompass the broad perspective that is also explicit in his purpose, he has included abbreviated accounts of some major technological and scientific developments which are drawn from standard secondary works. In some instances, these abridgments are unfortunate because they fail to offer a clear exposition of the significance of the advance. The book, therefore, has an uneven value.

For example, the author makes a detailed comparison of the technologies of the early modern European and Chinese blast furnaces in order to demonstrate that Chinese ironmaking had no apparent influence upon the development of its European counterpart. This study is a valuable addition to the present literature. But the solicitous treatment of this phase of the evolution of iron and steel technology stands in sharp contrast to the summary sketch of nineteenth-century progress which omits any mention of the important invention of the hot blast by Neilson.

Also, the author presents a thoughtful and well-documented study of the interrelation between the emergent science of chemistry and early metallurgical inquiries into such properties of iron and steel as brittleness and hardenability. He emphasizes the relevance of carbon to the phlogiston theory and indicates how late eighteenth-century chemical discoveries influenced the gradual comprehension of the important role of carbon in the constitution of iron and steel. But this exposition is marred by the tendency to encapsulate such important work as the discovery of the presence and functions of the various alloying elements.

The book has an excellent bibliography. It is unfortunate that an iron-carbon constitutional diagram was not included in order to clarify some discussion of ferrous metallurgy that the nontechnical reader will find difficult to grasp. The number of typographical errors is surprising in a work of this caliber.

*University of California, Los Angeles*

JOHN G. BURKE

VSEMIIRNAIA ISTORIIA [Universal History]. Volume VIII. Edited by I. I. Mints et al. (Moscow: Publishing House for Socio-Economic Literature. 1961. Pp. 642.)

In conformity with the view of Soviet historians that only the division of history into proper periods can bring out the relationship of events, this volume opens with the October Revolution of 1917, "the beginning of a new era in the history of mankind," and closes with the waning revolutionary events of 1923. These years, so the preface states, saw the beginning of socialism and the rise of competition between the capitalist and socialist systems.

After the opening chapters on the fall of the Russian provisional government and the founding of the Soviet system, with its sweeping economic and political measures, the peace negotiations leading to the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk occupy the scene. Here the United States and the *Entente* powers figure prominently: the authors hold that the West tried, by nudging the new regime into war with

Germany, to encompass its ruin. Wilson allegedly wanted to use German troops against Communism, while Lansing hoped that the anti-Soviet General Kaledin might destroy it. Lenin's government, however, survived, in spite of Trotsky's treachery, and at heavy cost the infant state survived until the collapse of the Central Powers brought an entirely new situation.

While the Big Three at the Paris Peace Conference fought each other for hegemony, they were united in hostility to Communism. According to the authors, the "American imperialists" even threatened to end the armistice if the Communists took power in Germany. The German Social Democrats also were implacably hostile to Communism: Ebert, Haase, and Noske joined the reactionaries in repressing it. Nevertheless, the German proletariat, inspired by the Russian example, formed the Communist party and set up a short-lived Soviet regime in Bavaria. Elsewhere the story was much the same. In Southern and Eastern Europe revolutionary movements, aroused by reactionary harshness and severe economic pressures, sought to follow the path of Soviet Russia. In Hungary and Bulgaria, Communists briefly came to power. Everywhere, however, the conservatives won. The inexperienced Communists made grave errors; the peasants did not back them fully; and Social Democrats and syndicalists, so the authors hold, betrayed the masses. In the Baltic States, Hungary, and Bulgaria, moreover, Allied forces intervened. Thus the reactionaries could recover and crush the popular movements.

Only in Soviet Russia did the Revolution win, in spite of French, British, American, and Japanese invaders and White armies backed by *Entente* money and munitions. As the Red Army grew stronger, the Allied troops had little enthusiasm for fighting in Russia, while the White armies crumbled. Thus, in spite of grave economic problems, by 1921 the Soviet power had repulsed its foes and was starting to build a socialist economy. In spite of the formation of the Third International, however, Communism had not achieved success outside Russia.

The competition of systems continued in other forms. When in 1922 the British, French, and Americans at Genoa sought to impose economic domination over the Soviet state, its diplomats split the capitalist camp by getting Germany to sign the favorable Treaty of Rapallo. Soviet proposals for disarmament accomplished little, but may have dampened eagerness for new attacks on this *bête noir* of the capitalists.

At the same time economic distress, Communist activity, and massive strikes troubled Britain, Italy, France, Spain, and the United States, while a wave of nationalist revolts swept the colonial world from Ireland to Indonesia. Soviet sympathy, everywhere strong, gave active support in Turkey, Iran, and China. Hence, although the imperial powers suffered few outright defeats, they had to make concessions. Likewise, in Latin America popular forces made a few gains, albeit at great price.

This volume differs from Western history on this period not so much in its factual material as in its interpretation and emphasis. More than the other volumes of the series, this is a consistent presentation of the Communist viewpoint, with little or no attempt to discover whether there is another possible interpretation. It is obviously the product of careful research and study, but its approach is not that of Western scholarship.

*Duke University*

JOHN SHELTON CURTISS

THE SINO-SOVIET CONFLICT, 1956-1961. By *Donald S. Zagoria*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1962. Pp. xii, 484. \$8.50.)

THE problem of writing a scholarly monograph on contemporary events is a sufficiently difficult task in its own right. When the subject matter is something as speculative as recent Sino-Soviet relations, the complexities of the problem become staggering. Sources for such a study are obviously limited, and such sources as are available must be approached with extreme circumspection. The cautious scholar usually heeds the caveats and turns his attention to more manageable problems.

Quite aware of these pitfalls, Donald Zagoria, a research associate of the RAND Corporation, has delimited his task as an attempt "to demonstrate the value of the Communists' own stream of communications as raw material for penetrating through the dialectical fogs and conflicts which lay behind it." Within this sensible limitation, Zagoria succeeds admirably. Relying heavily on Chinese and Russian newspapers, particularly the former, the author traces the development of Sino-Soviet antagonisms from Khrushchev's celebrated anti-Stalin speech of 1956 through the end of 1961. He makes much of the launching of a space satellite by the Soviet Union in 1957 as a catalyst in building the dispute. It is the author's thesis that the Chinese Communists believed that this technological leap, with its obvious military implications, provided the Communist bloc with the military capabilities to pursue a more aggressive foreign policy. Khrushchev's failure to pursue such a policy, at least to Mao's satisfaction, is at the core of the dispute. Zagoria demonstrates rather convincingly that the dispute is very real and scarcely the chimera some Western observers—particularly those who insist that the Communist bloc, by definition, can be nothing but a monolith—hold it to be. Yet, on the other hand, he offers solid cautions on exaggerating the impact of Sino-Soviet tensions. He cannot visualize a situation which would lead to a showdown between these two titans; nor is he certain that such a showdown would be to the West's ultimate advantage.

Kremlinologists, that hardy group of specialists who produce such a plethora of materials on the Communist bloc, will undoubtedly cavil at many of Zagoria's conclusions. They may argue that he has exaggerated the influence of Mao on satellite leaders in East Europe, particularly in the case of Walter Ulbricht. Within

the next few years, events may well prove several of the author's hypotheses to be wrong. It is even more probable that the book will be dated quite soon. These possibilities do not detract from the merit of the book. Zagoria has made no claims at exclusive truth or at having the last word. He has simply presented a scholarly and well-documented analysis on the basis of which he feels that he is entitled to draw his conclusions. Should other Kremlinologists care to draw other conclusions, that is their privilege. Before they do so, however, they would do well to emulate the painstaking research and careful thought that mark this book from start to finish.

*Duke University*

WARREN LERNER

## Ancient and Medieval

L'HOMME AVANT L'ÉCRITURE. By *Camille Arambourg et al.* Published under the direction of *André Varagnac*. [Collection *Destins du Monde*, Volume I.] (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1959. Pp. xiii, 504.)

GRANTING field work outruns publishing, and frontline thinkers keep poor liaison with synthesizing textbook makers, eventually always lessening the validity of any popularization, editor Varagnac and his contributing authors offer a useful serious review of world prehistory. Aimed at European readers and assuming some familiarity with the subject, this volume might serve others.

Here is a vivid picture of many varied events occurring tens of thousands of years before the first histories, deep-rooted disparate cultures and traditions long before written records, and much of significance outside a Eurasiatic framework. Historians take note.

With each chapter a separate kingdom as to author's approach, each necessarily a work of art as to selection, reduction, or rejection of fact, in each the reader's experience will be uneven, his harvest different. Nevertheless, prehistorians Arambourg, Bosch-Gimpera, Breuil, and Varagnac, covering the earliest ranges, join historian-archaeologists to produce a volume with undoubted introductory value but subject to qualifications.

The only fully satisfactory chapter is Arambourg's, reporting only on what was entirely familiar by central interest and professional competence. His treatment of early man as a zoological species gives a just conception of past discoveries and current thinking, a good feel for the vast scope of, and scanty data on, prehistory, and inklings of possibilities for evolutionary diversity as opposed to monolinear development. His assignment had innate logical unity of subject matter. All other chapters include fields in which authors were not entirely at home. Vagaries of the book business precluded tapping a separate author for every period and field. While each here gamely takes assignments in stride,

results are uneven. The chapters stretch thinner over heterogeneous data. Covering not only paleolithic material culture, art, and skeletal remains in Europe, Africa, Asia, and beyond into the Pacific and New World but also early food-producing neolithic peasant artisanal and subsequent developments there, these chapters are perforce more or less cursory, flimsy, or out of focus in places. Their intensity is regained as they return to the authors' special competencies.

While trying wherever possible to flesh out, with reconstructions of economic and intellectual life, the bare bones of chronology and successive material assemblages, these chapters necessarily often only list site, period, and culture names that are lost on beginners. Uncompromisingly crystallized systems of directional arrows on two cover maps showing notions of origin, movement, penetration, priority, or lag of people and traits are drastically oversimplified and too categorical, especially for earlier periods where scanty data warrant no such judgments. Unsophisticated concepts on these maps are, however, not necessarily repeated in the text.

On the other hand, Elisseff's two chapters on Russo-Asiatic prehistory are unpretentious, fact-filled graceful essays, frankly touching high spots and broad outlines, but enlightening on what is known of prehistoric cultures and movements across that enormous heartland.

*Peabody Museum*

BRUCE HOWE

HISTOIRE DE LA CIVILISATION DE L'ÉGYPTE ANCIENNE. By *Jacques Pirenne*. (Neuchâtel: La Baconnière. 1961. Pp. 366. 90 fr. S.)

THIS volume is something of an anomaly, being actually two separate works interleaved and bound together: a magnificent set of 115 photographic plates, apparently selected by Arpag Mekhitarian, and a history of Egyptian society during the Old Kingdom preceded by an introduction presenting the thrice-repeated cyclical pattern that Pirenne believes will lead to a true understanding of Egyptian history. The second and third cycles, corresponding to the Middle and New Kingdoms on the one hand, the Libyan, Ethiopian, Saite, Persian, and Ptolemaic periods on the other, will be treated in forthcoming volumes.

Pirenne's text does not deserve the same praise as the plates. The rigid historical scheme is a far cruder specimen of the cyclical view of history than Toynbee's theories. It appears to be based on the history of the Rhine Valley during the Middle Ages and on the dialectic between the feudal south and the commercial cities of Flanders. The reviewer of the *London Times Literary Supplement* has already pointed out the violence this does to the general trends of Egyptian history, and it seems unnecessary to duplicate his remarks here. Unfortunately, even the factual statements in this book can only be accepted with much caution.

Two examples will suffice. The parallelism with Flanders requires Pirenne to

assert that wealthy commercial cities arose in the Delta in prehistoric times and were only gradually subjected to the centralized regime of the Pharaohs. But did these cities exist? The historical civilization of Egypt originated and developed in the south. The Sumerian stimulus that triggered the rise of dynastic Egypt seems to have reached Egypt through the Wadi Hammamat, probably attracted by the neighboring gold mining areas, and to have by-passed the Delta. In the meantime, Lower Egypt was, if anything, a cultural backwater, and it seems improbable that a highly civilized Delta rivaled Upper Egypt in predynastic times. There appear to be no significant elements in the civilization of dynastic Egypt that can be clearly attributed to the Delta. The parallelism found in the titularies of Pharaohs and officials of later times is artificial and is likely to be only a mechanical duplication of the institutions of Upper Egypt in response to theological needs.

During the Old Kingdom, nothing indicates that the cities of the Delta differed in any way from those in Upper Egypt. In the absence of excavation little can be told with certainty, but it is clear that, in contrast to Upper Egypt, large areas of the Delta were only brought under cultivation at that time and later. It was here that lands were still available for public donations and private endowments. The number of provinces remained fixed in Upper Egypt, but gradually increased in the north. This suggests that at the rise of Egyptian civilization the Delta was a rather thinly populated area with extensive swamps that were drained only later.

Commercial activity on a significant scale (as distinguished from local barter) was and remained a monopoly of the state until a late stage in Egyptian history. Among the thousands of individuals whose tombs or records have survived there is not a single merchant, while craftsmen and artists (usually in the public employ) are well attested. When "merchants" appear in the New Kingdom, they are civil servants assigned to commercial duties in a state that had finally come into close contact with the commerce of Asia.

In discussing fiefs that supposedly developed in the Fifth Dynasty, Pirenne claims that Neferirkare created a special court, over which he presided in person, called "the tribunal of the Great God" to settle litigation concerning these fiefs. This tribunal actually occurs in passages such as the following: "[As for] all [men] who shall enter this tomb in their impure state after eating abominable things which an excellent spirit [abomin]ates and are not pure for me as they are pure for an excellent spirit who did what his lord praised, [I shall seize] his [neck] like a goose after making him fear me, so that the spirits and those upon earth shall see it and fear an excellent spirit; and [I shall be] judged with him in that noble tribunal of the Great God." Texts of this type are found inscribed in tombs from the early Fifth Dynasty, but "the tribunal of the Great God" is not actually documented until the Sixth; before then the "Great God" judges alone. But it should be evident from the passage quoted that the tribunal in



question exists only in the hereafter and is not particularly concerned with feudal disputes. Similar examples can be culled from almost every page in Pirenne's work, and they seem to be sufficiently numerous to make his general view of Egyptian history quite unconvincing.

*University of California, Berkeley*

KLAUS BAER

RÖMISCHE GESCHICHTE. By *Alfred Heuss*. (Brunswick: Georg Westermann Verlag. 1960. Pp. xvii, 621.)

In his foreword Professor Heuss explains that his book is intended primarily to fill a lacuna among scholarly German works on Roman history. A general survey, it is designed less as a manual for a specialist in the field than as an introduction to the subject, which historians in other fields and educated laymen may read with profit. In this country the book should appeal to specialists in ancient history, to specialists in other historical fields, and to graduate students as a sober, up-to-date synthesis of our knowledge of the subject.

The limits Heuss sets for his work differ from the ones often encountered in histories of Rome. He begins with the "foundation" of the city, thus dismissing as basically irrelevant to his subject the customary introduction on Italian prehistory. He concludes with the fall of the Empire in the West in the fifth century A.D. and is consequently to be congratulated on having given us a properly detailed coverage of late antiquity, which, all too often, is ignored or treated summarily after the reign of Constantine. He is at his best in his treatment of political, social, and economic developments, while his exposition of cultural trends is least satisfactory. In particular, one regrets his statement in the foreword that a history of Rome is no longer the proper place to seek enlightenment on Roman art, literature, and religion.

In a short review it is naturally impossible to comment on all points of dispute or special interest in a work of such length, and one can mention only briefly areas of particular weakness and strength. Least convincing is his interpretation of the regal and early republican periods where he takes a position based, in part at least, on the findings of the Swedish excavators in Rome. At the present time, interpretations of these periods are undoubtedly the most controversial in all of Roman history. The last word has not been stated, and one accordingly wishes that Heuss had been less didactic in his treatment of them. One need find nothing in recent archaeological evidence that disproves the main lines of Livy, that is, the "founding" of an urban settlement on the Palatine about 750 B.C. and the expulsion of the kings about 500 B.C. Furthermore, the recent exciting discovery of the bilingual Castor and Pollux inscription at Rome's doorstep suggests that direct Greek influence on early Rome was greater than hitherto supposed, and one should accordingly not reject out of hand, with Heuss, the existence in Rome of a "Servian" constitution on a Greek model in the sixth century. On the other

hand, he is most convincing in his characterizations of the dynasts of the Roman Revolution and in his interpretation of the development of the Principate as a primarily evolutionary or organic phenomenon in which "reforming" emperors appear as conservative coordinators of social, economic, and constitutional trends.

The work concludes with one hundred pages devoted (not without repetition) to the historiography of Roman history from the Renaissance to the present, to a treatment of primary source problems as they relate to the various periods in the field, and to a discussion of works in the modern secondary literature which, in Heuss's view, have contributed most to current interpretations of various phases of his subject. The author has cast his net wide, but, as might be expected, he is most complete in his coverage of modern works in German. These final sections will be invaluable as a ready reference for graduate students reading for advanced examinations and will replace the older treatments of Niese and the Roman sections of Bengtson's *Einführung*.

Hunter College

WILLIAM G. SINNIGEN

AUGUSTINE THE BISHOP: THE LIFE AND WORK OF A FATHER OF THE CHURCH. By *F. van der Meer*. Translated by *Brian Battershaw* and *G. R. Lamb*. (New York: Sheed and Ward. 1961. Pp. xxiii, 679. \$17.50.)

AUGUSTINE of Hippo, theologian, has been the subject of unnumbered monographs and of not a few general syntheses of the stature of E. Portalié's *A Guide to the Thought of St. Augustine* (1960) and F. Moriones' *Enchiridion theologicum s. Augustini* (1961). But Augustine the man, at least for the years subsequent to the *Confessions*, has had to await the pen of Professor van der Meer. Even in the pages of V. Monachino's *La cura pastorale a Milano, Cartagine e Roma nel secolo iv* (1947) there is nothing to equal this master mosaic which, fitted from myriad testimonies, depicts the day-to-day activity of the diligent priest and burdened bishop who served at Hippo Regius from A.D. 391 to 430.

Part One describes this community, forty thousand strong, yet decidedly provincial. Literary references and archaeological data vie to re-create its citizenry: the dwindling minority of pagans, the violent Donatists, the Catholics (whose vices matched their virtues), most of whom were happy enough to hear out attentively a three-hour sermon preached by its world-renowned bishop who supped upon vegetables and cereals and wore what anyone gave him. The prelate himself was at ease with this people and shared its concerns as though these things were all that really mattered. Part Two, in concrete detail, depicts the liturgy of the great basilica at Hippo. Sunday (and daily) Mass is shown as still conserving the clear demarcation between an instructional service for the catechumens and a Eucharistic sacrifice for the faithful. Public penance sometimes found the penitent unanxious for early absolution, though a kind of general absolution had become quite popular. The whole baptismal ritual, from the first

signing of the candidate with the cross to his Easter Communion, is so vividly unfolded that one can turn from this presentation to the new evidence unearthed at the Tunisian baptistry in Kelibia (see *Rivista di archeologia cristiana*, XXXVI [1960 (pub. 1962)], 123-44) and feel himself moving within the same milieu.

Part Three probes Augustine's ideals, methods, and material as a preacher, while Part Four recaptures the popular piety of the period which lavished an especial enthusiasm on martyrs (even though the bishops assembled at Carthage in 401 had legislated against the proliferation of martyrs' *memoriae*), which continued to keep the feasts for the dead (now joined, often enough, with Church commemorations), and which cherished a belief in miracles foreshadowing Gregory of Tours.

Good in format, helpful in illustrations, extensive in notes, this volume renders into English *Augustinus de Zielzorg*. The Dutch edition is not further identified, but it is certainly not the original issue of 1947. Comparison with a French version of 1955 suggests that the text employed parallels the French. Minor defects crop up in this present translation: two important plans (of the excavations at Hippo and of its Christian quarter) have not been reproduced as they were in the French rendition; distances in feet are obtained by multiplying the metric quantities by three; seventeen kilometers become six miles; the 18th kal. October is anticipated by two days to September 12, while a puzzling reference to First Sunday turns out to be Passion Sunday toward the close of Lent. An assertion that the 1939-1954 report of the Fifth Congress of Christian Archaeology (at Aix-en-Provence, not Arles) "has not yet been published" should be eliminated since the issuance in 1957 of the Pontifical Archeological Institute's *Studi di antichità cristiana*, Volume XXII.

*Immaculate Conception Seminary, Darlington, New Jersey*      HENRY G. J. BECK

MEDIEVAL TECHNOLOGY AND SOCIAL CHANGE. By *Lynn White, jr.*  
(New York: Oxford University Press. 1962. Pp. ix, 194, 10 plates. \$6.00.)

This book begins with the introduction of the stirrup in the eighth century, enabling a rider to hold his lance at rest and making possible mounted shock combat, and the feudal knight, against whom the crossbow was devised. Next are considered the heavy plough, horseshoe and horsecollar, and three-field rotation as necessitating peasant communal cooperation and producing an increase of population, especially in Northern Europe, "and a novel . . . way of life, democratic capitalism." Finally come the great development, over antiquity, of the water mill and its uses, the invention in the twelfth century of the windmill, "late medieval interest in the force of expanding vapours and gases," the trebuchet, "the first European crank," the flywheel "as an element in machinery," the treadle and the spinning wheel, the mechanical clock, the fusee, and "the concept of a power technology." In sum: "By the latter part of the fifteenth century,

Europe was equipped not only with sources of power far more diversified than those known to any previous culture, but also with an arsenal of technical means for grasping, guiding, and utilizing such energies, which was immeasurably more varied and skilful than any people of the past had possessed, or than was known to any contemporary society of the Old World or the New." Except for Greek fire, the Byzantines are represented as borrowing military innovations and also the crank from the West. The rapid diffusion of new devices is asserted on pages 102 and 115, but questioned on pages 74, 81, 100, and 111, primarily, however, for lack of evidence.

The organization of this volume, justified by the author in the preface, is rather peculiar. Not only do the footnotes which accompany the text nearly equal it in length, but they refer the reader further to additional notes which fill up pages 135-177 solidly, in both senses of that word. It is a pity that there is not a bibliographical index covering both sets of notes. Incidentally, "the opening up of great new iron mines" in Carolingian times is not illuminated by the reference to the note on page 153, nor by the sole reference in the index to mines on page 167. Since I am cited as to Nicholas Oresmus (Oresmius?), whom I rather designated by the French form of his name as Oresme, it should perhaps be added that the French form of his Christian name has been shown to be Nicole rather than Nicolas.

This abundance of wide-ranging scholarly notes is accompanied by a text that is readable, epigrammatic, and humorous, as a few quotations, which at the same time confirm some of its chief contentions, may illustrate: "Few inventions have been so simple as the stirrup, but few have had so catalytic an influence on history. . . . Antiquity imagined the Centaur; the early Middle Ages made him the master of Europe." "...the bursting vitality of the Carolingian realm in the eighth century. . . ." "Our recently acquired knowledge of nutrition, then, provides us with new insight into the dynamics of the later Middle Ages. . . . In the full sense of the vernacular, the Middle Ages, from the tenth century onward, were full of beans." "To use a crank, our tendons and muscles must relate themselves to the motion of galaxies and electrons. From this inhuman adventure our race long recoiled."

Columbia University

LYNN THORNDIKE

MITTELDEUTSCHE BEITRÄGE ZUR DEUTSCHEN VERFASSUNGSGESCHICHTE DES MITTELALTERS. By *Walter Schlesinger*. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1961. Pp. 490. DM 28.)

A GROUP of studies by one of the acknowledged masters of German *Ostforschung*, this volume is chiefly concerned with the Germanization of the territories east of the Elbe and Saale Rivers between the tenth and twelfth centuries. The process of settlement and of adjustment to new frontier conditions has furnished

ample material for dispute between German and Slav historians for over a century, and the present work suggests that the end of the great debate is not yet in sight. Was the German thrust to the east simply a violent and brutal subjugation of the Slavs in the new colonial Germany? Or was it a relatively peaceful colonization, encouraged in some cases by the Slav rulers themselves? Were local Slavic laws and customs overwhelmed, or did they blend with those imported by the German newcomers? These questions acquired a new immediacy after 1945 with the amputation of East Germany under the impact of the Slav *Drang nach Westen*. Had the age-long German push to the east been a gigantic error, which had deservedly ended in unmitigated disaster?

The author's approach to these vital problems may be gathered from his final study, which should be read first. He defends the thesis that the main agents of German expansion were the missionary, the peasant, and the merchant, and maintains that wars of extermination and massive transfers of population were seldom if ever resorted to against the native Slavs. Germanization occurred largely through cultural blending and absorption and entailed no loss of political independence to such states as Poland and Hungary. The ensuing consolidation of powerful political communities on the eastern approaches to Central Europe provided the Continent at a later date with an outlying zone of defense against the assaults of the Ottoman Turks. At present the protective barrier has been shattered, and the new danger from the east has penetrated to the heart of Europe.

The emphasis in this work on the more peaceful and constructive aspect of German expansion eastward in the Middle Ages may be usefully compared with the present tendency of East European historiography to depict the *Ostbewegung* as a process of military conquest and subjugation which, however, failed to uproot the characteristic laws and institutions of Slavdom. In effect, the techniques of eastward expansion oscillated ceaselessly between the two extremes of outright conquest and peaceful settlement. The bloody exploits of the Knights of the Sword in Livonia differed *toto caelo* from the tranquil flow of German settlers into Poland at the invitation of the Piast dynasty. The extent to which Slav law and custom survived in areas of German settlement remains an open question, in large part because the sources on the primitive social and legal constitution of the Slav tribes are scanty and ambiguous. The present author presents his findings with scholarship and moderation. He has made a notable contribution to the continuing dialogue between German and Slav.

McGill University

C. C. BAYLEY

GREGORY OF RIMINI: TRADITION AND INNOVATION IN FOURTEENTH CENTURY THOUGHT. By *Gordon Leff*. (New York: Barnes and Noble. 1961. Pp. x, 245. \$6.50.)

GREGORY of Rimini, less famous than Bradwardine and Ockham, perhaps be-

cause no religious order has taken a scholarly interest in him, belongs to that large group of late medieval thinkers who sought a common ground from which to view the divine and the created. Mr. Leff sees these men as faced with the threat of an infinite chasm between God and man; it was this dread of separation that occasioned, what might be termed in the poet Keats's phrase, "irritable appeals to logic and reason." From Gerbert, in the late tenth century, the first of the medievals to lecture on the corpus of Boethius' logical works, there were teachers who counseled their students to place their trust in rhetoric, the art that binds men together, rather than in dialectic which serves only to divide them. From the moment when dialectic was first used by Lanfranc to counter Berengar's teachings on the Eucharist, until Alexander of Hales posed the question "*Utrum theologia sit scientia?*" few heeded Gerbert's warning, and logic became more central to theological discourse. Brilliantly refined by Ockham, it is one of history's great ironies that it came to be a tool that inadvertently buttressed faith, for the logicians were now able to demonstrate that the truths of theology were not accessible to rational inquiry, and fideism closed in. The nexus between faith and reason was at best predicated upon a mere philosophical probabilism. Like his fourteenth-century contemporaries, Gregory was confronted with that stark alternative: knowledge could no longer be incorporated in the framework of revelation. Gregory was faced with yet another irritating medieval development: the necessitarianism of Islamic philosophy introduced into the West over a century before. Ockham and others had anxiously sought to vindicate God's untrammelled freedom and liberate Him from the prison the Averroists had constructed. To assert God's *potentia absoluta* was to run the risk of positing a Deity who was not bound by any rule or ordinance and, therefore, could love the mortal sinner more than the man in grace, or could desire man to hate Him, and was even capable of misleading His own son. Gregory, no Ockhamist, responded to this threat by offering a literal reading of Augustine which rejected the notion of an inviolability of creation and set out to demonstrate that God's *potentia absoluta*, far from being a cause of confusion, could be a source of certainty.

Lucidly, the author presents the neglected thought of this conservative university teacher and shows how he traveled the moderate path between such theological radicals as Bradwardine and the Ockhamists. In so doing, Leff alters his earlier view of the fourteenth century, presented in his *Bradwardine and the Pelagians*, and acknowledges that even the radicals were not conducting a deliberate assault upon the rational foundations of faith, but that they differed from Gregory in that whatever their intent, their arguments undermined traditional criteria, while Gregory's commentaries on the *Sentences* shored up the antique ways by which God had been acknowledged. Leff's emphasis upon the positive character of fourteenth-century thought, at least in terms of the intent of major thinkers, is in keeping with the recent scholarship of Boehner, Moody, and Rob-

son, and his judicious interpretations do much to clarify the intricacies of pre-Reformation scholasticism.

*Western Reserve University*

MARVIN B. BECKER

## Modern Europe

L'IDEA DI NAZIONE. By *Federico Chabod*. Edited by *Armando Saitta* and *Ernesto Sestan*. [Biblioteca di cultura moderna, Number 561.] (Bari: Editori Laterza. 1961. Pp. xi, 186. L. 1,200.)

STORIA DELL'IDEA D'EUROPA. By *Federico Chabod*. Edited by *Ernesto Sestan* and *Armando Saitta*. [Biblioteca di cultura moderna, Number 562.] (2d ed.; Bari: Editori Laterza. 1962. Pp. xi, 204. L. 1,200.)

SINCE the untimely death in 1960 of Federico Chabod, a group of able students and colleagues have been preparing a posthumous, annotated edition of the distinguished historian's works. In addition, Gennaro Sasso has written an incisive summary of Chabod's scholarly career: *Profilo di Federico Chabod* [see *AHR*, LXVII (Apr. 1962), 787].

The present two volumes, edited by Armando Saitta and Ernesto Sestan, deal with a subject that, in Chabod's own words, was "particularly dear and that awakens within me deep moral and spiritual resonance"—the development of the idea of "nationalism" and, even more important for the future, the development of the idea of a wider unit of allegiance, "Europe." The first part of *L'idea di nazione* contains the text of a course that Chabod first offered in 1943-1944 at the University of Milan; the second section scrupulously sets forth the principal modifications introduced when he reoffered the course at the University of Rome in 1946-1947. An appendix reproduces the text of a related course, "Origins of the Modern State," taught at Rome in 1956-1957. In *Storia dell'idea d'Europa* are found a collateral series of lectures given in Milan during 1943-1944 and in Rome during 1947-1948 and 1958-1959.

At the close of the academic year in 1944 Chabod left the University of Milan and spent the rest of the war as a resistance leader, consecrating himself to the task of liberating his native Val d'Aosta in the northwestern corner of Italy. It may well have been that as a result of his early education in this bilingual region, coveted by both France and Italy, Chabod was induced to reflect upon the need for a broader conception of national allegiance. During the 1930's he discussed the "idea of Europe" with fellow historians on the staff of the *Enciclopedia italiana*, and in his own article on "Europa" he concerned himself not with a detailed history of the Continent but with the growing consciousness on the part of European intellectuals that they shared a common civilization. Chabod was of course aware of the contemporary publication of Christopher Dawson's *Making*



of *Europe*, noted in Italy by Adolfo Omodeo in the pages of *La Critica*, and by the somewhat pretentious arguments for European hegemony that Coudenhove-Kalergi set forth before the "Volta Assembly" in Rome in 1932. But it was primarily the impact of World War II that crystallized Chabod's belief in a more progressive, less condescending type of Europeanism—just as it did for many other idealistic participants in the resistance.

Chabod did not seek to reduce the "idea of nationalism" to merely the antithesis of the "idea of Europe." Rather he stressed the complementary nature of the two ideas, particularly in the thought of Herder. And he carefully explained how during ensuing decades nationalism became divorced from "freedom" and "humanity" and acquired various "missionary" attributes, as can be seen in the writings of Mazzini, Gioberti, Fichte, De Maistre, and others.

The editors of these two volumes are justified in finding it both remarkable and comforting that in the "gloomy winter of 1943, when the streets of Milan resounded to the cadenced steps of German patrols and other brigades," an Italian professor should have dared to reaffirm so energetically the tolerant principles of the eighteenth century and to sing aloud the stanzas of the Marseillaise.

Vanderbilt University

CHARLES F. DELZELL

EUROPE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, 1713-1783. By M. S. Anderson. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1961. Pp. ix, 364. \$5.00.)

THIS volume on *Europe in the Eighteenth Century, 1713-1783*, by Dr. Mathew Anderson of the London School of Economics, is the first to appear in a projected eleven-volume History of Europe from the decline of Rome to 1945, edited by Professor Denys Hay of the University of Edinburgh. The book, by its scope and subject matter, invites comparisons with similar attempts, such as Arthur Hassall, *The Balance of Power, 1715-1789* (1909); Roland Mousnier and Ernest Labrousse, *Le XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle: Révolution intellectuelle, technique, et politique, 1715-1815* (1953); and Volume VII of the *New Cambridge Modern History, The Old Regime, 1713-63* (1957). As might be expected of an older work, Hassall's volume is almost exclusively a dense narrative of political, diplomatic, and military events. As befits a volume in a history of civilization series, the book by Mousnier and Labrousse emphasizes technical, intellectual, and cultural changes. The *New Cambridge Modern History* and Anderson seek to maintain a balance between cultural and institutional description and the narrative of the thin, red line of diplomatic, military, and political "heroes." Indeed, Anderson devotes the first half of his work to a description of the structure of European society in the eighteenth century, the economic life, the government and administration, monarchs and despots, tensions within the state, armies and navies, diplomacy and international relations. These chapters are abreast of modern scholarship; to nonspecialists in the eighteenth century they will offer much that is

new. These nonspecialists will admire the singular balance and intelligence with which the evidence is considered and each sentence is written. In accord with the current scholarly trend, Anderson here emphasizes the elements of continuity, habit, and inertia in the social, economic, and political life of this epoch. "The horse-drawn wagons moving painfully over wretched roads, the sailing-ships sometimes delayed for weeks or months by contrary winds, the domestic workers at their bench or spinning-wheel, the unique social prestige still attached almost everywhere to the ownership of land—all these show us that we are still in many respects closer to the thirteenth century than to the nineteenth." There follow one hundred quite satisfactory pages of diplomatic narrative, beginning with the expansion of Russia in the east, then passing to chapters on Central Europe, and ending with the Anglo-French duel and the relations of Europe with the outside world. The book concludes with two chapters on education, ideas, and intellectual life and on religion and the churches, which are disappointingly thin and written as if the author's heart were not in the matter. Since in this epoch, before the 1780's, the elements of change were largely in the realm of ideas, the effect of the strength of the first half of the book when combined with the weakness of the last sixth is to stress continuity, to minimize change, and to ill prepare the reader for the French Revolution. Nevertheless, one carries away from reading the book a sense of excellence and strength. At the present moment, it is probably the best single volume on Europe in the eighteenth century.

*Duke University*

HAROLD T. PARKER

DAS 19. UND 20. JAHRHUNDERT. By *Erich Angermann et al.* [Historia Mundi, Volume X.] (Bern: Francke Verlag. 1961. Pp. 818. 48.20 fr. S.)

THIS volume marks the completion of *Historia Mundi*, a new and important ten-volume series which is destined to occupy in the German-speaking world the same high place that several of the older series occupy in France and England. Fritz Kern initiated this project shortly after the war, and following his death in 1950, Fritz Valjavec became editor. He died before this volume was completed, and these many changes may account for the publisher's regretful note that *Historia Mundi* "has moved in other directions than Fritz Kern and the publishers originally intended."

This last volume is devoted to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, to the triumph of Europe's industrial civilization, and to its impact on the rest of the world. It focuses precisely on the emergence of one world, on the creation of a political and economic system that links the hitherto separate cultures. The dominant themes of this book are the changes in European civilization that made possible the diffusion of its technological and spiritual achievements. The editor avowedly aimed at providing a new perspective on the present and sought especially to render intelligible the emergence of Russia and America as the leading

powers and of the colonial world as independent and increasingly important powers. In pursuit of this perspective of the present, the past is at times distorted.

The very ambitiousness of this volume leads to an invidious imbalance in quality and proportion of the different chapters, written by sixteen Western, preponderantly German, historians. Sir Charles Webster, Franco Valsecchi, Hans Herzfeld, and Ludwig Zimmermann deal with European politics from 1815 to 1919 in 174 pages, and the cramped quality of their chapters may explain why these narratives fail to do justice to the subjects or to the usual high quality of these authors. A longer part examines the intellectual, social, and economic developments of the world, primarily of Europe, and here the essays are very uneven indeed. Hans Sedlmayr discusses "Kunst im demiurgischen Zeitalter," the weakest and most Germanic piece of the volume. Fritz Valjavec's essay on the cultural and intellectual life of Europe is not much better. Sedlmayr's and Valjavec's essays are dishearteningly anachronistic and should have been omitted from a work that is to mold the historical consciousness of a new generation.

Very successful, on the contrary, is Wilhelm Treue's long essay on the economic and social structure of Europe. He exemplifies his belief that "the history of economic and technological development in connection with the Industrial Revolution becomes more than in any other phase a part of intellectual history." His essay presents a masterly review of the economic changes as these were embedded in European culture. Treue's contribution is an admirable synthesis of recent scholarship and strengthens a new and promising style in economic historiography.

The editor planned for three essays on the Russian Empire and the rise of the Americas in order to explain the origins of their contemporary predominance. Werner Philipp depicts "Russia's Rise to a World Power, 1815-1917," with expert skill and penetrating insight. It is not Philipp's fault, but rather the fault inherent in a collective enterprise of this sort, that the Communist Revolution of 1917 receives barely a mention anywhere in this book.

Erich Angermann's essay on the United States from 1814 to 1919 and that of Arthur Whitaker on Latin America for the same period are also very successful. Horst Hammitzsch's discussion of modern Japan is splendidly informative, as is Hans Beyer's article on the emancipation movements in the Ottoman Empire, in Asia, and in Africa. Equally discerning is Jean Vidalenc's survey of the colonial system from 1814 to 1919.

The main part of the book ends with Walther Hubatsch's brief review of political developments from 1919 to 1945. Here the implicit German orientation of much of the volume is explicit and fully justified, though Hubatsch's treatment of recent German history is unsatisfactory. His conventional explanations, and concealed excuses, are of little service to the German reader and reflect none of the new and outstanding historical thought exemplified by the work of Fritz Fischer and K. D. Bracher, among others. The book and the series are concluded

by Harold Steinacker's essay on "The Meaning and Nature of History," written in a vein similar to the articles by Sedlmayr and Valjavec.

Despite some of the excellent contributions to this volume, the over-all impression is one of disappointment. The work is uneven and poorly integrated, and despite its laudable and successful efforts to overcome the geographical parochialism and European orientation of earlier historians, the book reflects in part at least a still deeper parochialism and traditionalism which do scant justice to the vigorous temper of contemporary historiography on both sides of the Atlantic.

*Columbia University*

FRITZ STERN

PROPHETS OF YESTERDAY: STUDIES IN EUROPEAN CULTURE, 1890-1914. By *Gerhard Masur*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1961. Pp. x, 481. \$7.50.)

It was not so long ago that a historian could make himself a kind of academic Davy Crockett in the eyes of his students by quoting little snips from Weber and Pareto. He thereby brought intellectual history into the "crisis of our age" and established himself as an ultramodernist among his peers. But this day, with its easy glory, is now gone. Since the recent appearance of such works as Stuart Hughes's *Consciousness and Society*, Carl Schorske's studies on Vienna, Hayden White's translation of Carlo Antoni's *From History to Sociology*, Albert Levi's *Philosophy and the Modern World*, and Wolfgang Mommsen's *Max Weber und die deutsche Politik*, the intellectual transformation that introduced our century and our era has been made into an accessible area of historical inquiry at least as serious and as sophisticated as any in the further past. And now we have Gerhard Masur's *Prophets of Yesterday*, a work of comprehensive synthesis that moves the study of the movement into a new stage.

Masur's arena is nothing less than the breakdown of the coherence in European society which became the dominant theme of European thought and culture between 1890 and 1914. Imbedding his analysis in a social context—there are introductory and concluding chapters on social movements, and the relevance of the bourgeois crisis is specified throughout—Masur covers the vast field of the discursive and creative arts (intellectual and cultural history, to give them our labels) that were the prime expression of a development taking more obscure and hybrid forms in the more practical activities of the prewar world. Masur does indeed disclaim completeness (note the subtitle), and every reader will lament the omission of a favorite, but with representative poets, novelists, dramatists, artists, historians, philosophers, and social scientists, we are as close to full coverage as we are likely to get. Masur organizes this cultural panorama by types of reaction to the overwhelming problem set by the disruption of meaning in the European world. He moves from the adumbration of the problem in the giants of nineteenth-century culture—Goethe, Comte, Marx, Dostoevski, Nietzsche—to the

empty aesthetic recourse of the *littérateurs* like Wilde, George, and Gide, to the relativizing of values in the scholarship of Dilthey, Rickert, and Weber, and to the specific reflection of bourgeois bankruptcy in the art of impressionism, the drama of Ibsen, and the social novels of Mann and Galsworthy. The unrelieved motif of crisis is then leavened by the introduction of the philosophical optimists, Bergson and Croce, who seek to convert flux from dissolution into progress. Those who search in vain for the "lost dimension"—Freud, the postimpressionists, Unamuno—provide the central denouement.

It is not easy to hold such a motley group together, and it is a tribute to Masur's breadth and flexibility of understanding that he steers so skillfully between the anarchy and the regimentation which beckon from such material. Evoking rather than defining the sense of contemporary crisis, he permits each figure to make his own contribution to the intellectual process that introduced it. Masur analyzes ideas, of course, but this is not his chief concern. What he seeks above all is the individual human equation. In each case he joins a personal to the intellectual portrait and conveys thereby the internal relations of the change he describes. The book's strength lies in its sensitivity and its humanity rather than in its rigor and integration. It is intellectual history in the manner of Hazard rather than in the manner of Cassirer. Given such an approach, judgments will vary not so much about the admirable range of the whole as about the treatment of the particular figures. In my judgment, Masur's average in comprehending and transmitting the essence of such difficult and complicated people is remarkably high. I did feel, however, that the more demoniacal figures, like Nietzsche, Freud, and Shaw, remained rather more alien than did the more companionable gentle or chastened souls like Bergson, Dilthey, and Wilde.

The fact remains, however, that the field has now been surveyed, and Masur has rendered a signal pioneering service. Studies will and should continue to be cultivated within it, and discussion should be initiated on the analytical meaning of the whole, particularly on the constructive ideas that came out of the literature of crisis. Masur signalizes a historiography of our second intellectual revolution that is on the same high level as that of the Enlightenment. Would that a similar service could be performed for the lost world of the nineteenth century that lies between them.

*Yale University*

LEONARD KRIEGER

FRANCE AND HER EASTERN ALLIES, 1919-1925: FRENCH-CZECH-OSLOVAK-POLISH RELATIONS FROM THE PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE TO LOCARNO. By *Piotr S. Wandycz*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1962. Pp. ix, 454. \$8.50.)

WANDYCH' study of relations between France, Poland, and Czechoslovakia begins with the collapse of the pre-World War I political, social, and economic or-

der in Europe. It ends with what the author describes as the "illusion of Locarno" and the final failure of repeated attempts by these powers to establish a *barrière de l'est*. This effort to keep Germany and the Soviet Union apart is the underlying theme in a detailed, indeed exhaustive, study of the relations of the three powers in their continuing search for the means of guaranteeing European peace and security during the years between the wars. The theme is a melancholy one, but its pursuit has probably provided us with the most authoritative account of the policies of France and its two eastern allies for the years 1919-1925.

As the author points out, the published materials bearing directly or indirectly on French-Polish-Czech relations is "staggering." The reader must admire the patience and fortitude that enabled the author to master this mountain of publications. But in his turn the reader will occasionally find the volume's main theme obscured by the very detailed treatment. Wandycz does his best, however, to guide the reader through the maze by means of summary paragraphs at the end of each chapter or episode.

While the volume's outstanding merit is the scholarly thoroughness with which the complex subject is treated, Wandycz deserves warm praise for the remarkably objective fashion in which he treats events whose repercussions still enormously affect us all. Thus, Wandycz gives full credit to the tactical skill by which Beneš enhanced the apparent prestige and power of Czechoslovakia. Similarly, Wandycz is restrained in his criticism of Lloyd George's policies even though the Prime Minister never attempted to disguise his contempt of the reborn Polish nation.

Wandycz seems almost unduly reticent in expressing broad generalizations or value judgments in the course of describing the actual march of men and events from Versailles to Locarno. For those who may feel this lack, however, the author provides a remedy. He concludes his study with an appraisal, a pattern of relations, the value of which is the more apparent since Wandycz has in the foregoing chapters so amply confirmed his right to appraise the events so painstakingly and dispassionately recorded. In the final paragraphs of this appraisal, the author emphasizes his conviction that both France and Czechoslovakia failed to appreciate fully their long-range community of interests with Poland. If, thinks Wandycz, Beneš had been willing to accept the risks of an alliance with Poland, it might have been possible to forge an East European bloc of some forty million people, capable of resisting aggression far more effectively than Beneš' darling, the Little Entente. But for reasons the author makes abundantly clear, such a bloc was not to be. France and both its eastern allies proceeded along the path that ended in the cataclysm they had so desperately sought to avoid.

*France and Her Eastern Allies* is history for historians. Its author can be reasonably sure that his painstaking work will long remain a basic element in our understanding of European diplomacy between the wars.

Washington, D. C.

S. EVERETT GLEASON



DER ERZWUNGENE KRIEG: DIE URSACHEN UND URHEBER DES 2. WELTKRIEGS. By *David L. Hoggan*. Translated from the English by *M. E. Narjes* and *H. Grabert*. [Veröffentlichungen des Institutes für deutsche Nachkriegsgeschichte, Volume I.] (Tübingen: Verlag der Deutschen Hochschullehrer-Zeitung. 1961. Pp. 893.)

THIS is the first volume in a series edited by Herbert Grabert and published by his private institute. Grabert was a leading anti-Christian publicist in the 1930's. The dust jacket of the present volume contains endorsements by Harry Elmer Barnes and Hugo C. Backhaus, the latter being a pseudonym under which Grabert has published some of his Neo-Nazi works since World War II.

The major thesis of this book is simple. By careful scheming, Lord Halifax, the British Foreign Secretary, intentionally brought about World War II against Hitler's intense desire for peace, a desire seconded by Joachim von Ribbentrop and Georges Bonnet, but thwarted by most German and some British diplomats. Poland acted as the willing pawn of Britain in providing by its British-induced intransigence on Danzig the desired pretext for an attack on Germany. In their efforts to unleash war, the British were consciously urged on by Roosevelt and unconsciously aided by Italy's last minute betrayal of its ally. Halifax was further assisted by the German opposition to Hitler, referred to here in Hitlerian language. Most of the book deals with the diplomacy of 1938-1939, particularly the period from Munich to the outbreak of war. There are backnotes, a bibliography, and a name index.

Since Hoggan's findings differ significantly from those of other scholars, an analysis of his method is necessary. Four main procedures led him to his conclusions. First, all public statements by Hitler after 1933 are taken at face value. Hitler's explanations for leaving the League, remilitarizing the Rhineland, seizing Austria, and his periodic pacific professions are invariably taken as accurate indicators of German policy. Second, Hitler's secret statements are either deprecated or ignored. The Hossbach memorandum, the May 1939 and August 1939 secret speeches are simply declared to have been distorted by others. The secret instructions to Henlein are overlooked. Since Hoggan by-passes Hitler's announcement to his generals in February 1933 that the purpose of the new German army was the conquest and ruthless Germanization of land in the east, he can claim ignorance of Germany's ultimate aims in Eastern Europe. The third major technique is transposition: the sequence of events is reversed for dramatic effect. By relying on German distortions in their White Book, Hoggan is able to omit the strong Polish reaction to Germany's demand for Danzig in October 1938 in order to make it occur after, rather than before, the turn of British policy in 1939. Again, the Soviet suggestion that Germany trade Lithuania for a part of central Poland is moved up to take place before, rather than after, the Soviet invasion of Poland; thus Hoggan can invent a Soviet ultimatum. The fourth and most commonly utilized technique is the twisting of evidence or its total fabrication. Hoggan



makes statements and lists references to support them. The references frequently contain something different.

Of the innumerable possible examples, one will be cited as an illustration of both Hoggan's thesis and his methodology. In June 1939 Adam von Trott zu Solz was in England to talk with British leaders. The key issue was Britain's guarantee to Poland. According to Hoggan, Chamberlain confided to Trott that the guarantee "did not please him personally at all. He thereby gave the impression that Halifax was solely responsible for the British policy." What did Chamberlain really say? "Do you [Trott] believe that I undertook these commitments gladly? Hitler forced me into them." By neatly switching the names, Hoggan makes Halifax into the warmonger, and Hitler into the angel of peace.

*University of Michigan*

GERHARD L. WEINBERG

A NAVAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND. Volume I, THE FORMATIVE CENTURIES. By G. J. Marcus. (Boston: Atlantic-Little, Brown. 1961. Pp. xii, 494. \$12.50.)

THERE are two categories of naval histories of England. The first has but one representative: the outdated, full-scale work edited by Sir W. Laird Clowes, *The Royal Navy, a History* (7 volumes, 1903). The second consists of general accounts in single volumes, the best examples of which are provided by Michael Lewis, David Mathews, and Christopher Lloyd. The present work, by an erudite British "amateur" naval historian, will, when completed, fall midway between these categories as regards size. Volume I carries the story to the eve of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. The projected volumes (Marcus informs me) will be: II, "The Age of Nelson" (1963), and III, "The Empire of the Ocean," dealing with 1815-1918 (1963 or 1964).

The unique feature of Volume I is that its scope is much broader than that of Clowes and the others. The drum-and-trumpet history of the Royal Navy is described against an integrated background of military history and of developments in strategy and tactics, matériel, gunnery, navigation, naval administration, and foreign and domestic policy. The author shows the sure touch of the expert in handling all the naval facets of the story.

Marcus has made the fullest use of twentieth-century research: the classics of Mahan, Richmond, and Corbett; the primary source material published by the Navy Records Society; and the monographic and naval periodical literature. He says little that is new, whether of fact or of interpretation, except, notably, in the Armada and Seven Years' War chapters. Here, thanks to original research for two monographs (*Quiberon Bay* [1960] and *The Great Armada*, [in press]), he has been able to introduce fresh and interesting material on the disastrous odyssey of the Spanish fleet, on Hawke's naval strategy in 1759, and on the great victory at Quiberon Bay.

I found the penultimate chapter, "Sea Life under the Georges," particularly rewarding. Marcus points up the factors that made the British fleet the most formidable one afloat by the late eighteenth century and that made possible a Nelson. These were the standard of seamanship and gunnery, the introduction of more flexible tactics, the signaling improvements ("For the first time the Commander-in-Chief was able to say exactly what he pleased by signal"), and, most decisive of all, the excellence of the personnel, especially the officers, who were "imbued with the strongest sense of professional pride and esprit de corps." The same chapter has fascinating sections on shipboard life, the recruitment of seamen, women in the navy (down to 1815 considerable numbers accompanied the crews to sea), prize money, the timber problem, discipline, and health problems.

The prose is very readable, if not distinguished, the many simple geographical maps are helpful, and the index and annotated chapter bibliographies are first rate. Minor blemishes are the omission of page citations in quite a few reference footnotes and an often peculiar comma usage, or lack of usage. My one serious complaint is the treatment of the great figures in the British naval tradition. Their policies and achievements are handled very skillfully, but we learn very little about them as individuals. Vernon, Hawke, Anson, *et al.* simply do not come alive—not even Pepys!

We have here the first installment of what promises to be a major work of synthesis in the field of naval history.

*University of Hawaii*

ARTHUR J. MARDER

#### THE WEALTH OF THE GENTRY, 1540-1660: EAST ANGLIAN STUDIES.

By *Alan Simpson*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1961. Pp. vii, 225. \$5.00.)

THE studies in Simpson's excellent book are linked by two circumstances: they concern the fortunes of men and families who held or bought land in East Anglia between 1540 and 1660; they are based on records which provide runs of economic information about those fortunes over unusually long time spans. Consequently, they register better than any records previously studied the impact of the price revolution on a sector of English agrarian society. The main characters in the study are exemplars of what have become stock types in discussions of the English society and economy from the dissolution of the monasteries to the Restoration—Nicholas Bacon, the rising lawyer and official; Thomas Cullum, the rising merchant; Thomas Cornwallis, the courtier who lost his job. Up to a point each character conforms to type or to one or another of the current characterizations of the type that he exemplifies. Thus, Bacon, a man of very humble origins indeed, flourished mightily in a succession of offices: solicitor of Augmentations, attorney of Wards, Lord Keeper. With the gains of office he bought land, sometimes at insiders' rates, and established a county family. From his entry into

office to his death, his annual income climbed from nothing to about five thousand pounds net. The merchant, Thomas Cullum, a country boy apprenticed to a London draper, nursed a small initial capital of a few hundred pounds to well over forty thousand pounds despite outlays of around fifteen thousand pounds to settle his children. He bought a country estate and founded a county family. Sir Thomas Cornwallis, starting as a substantial squire, was rewarded with a household office for his loyalty to Queen Mary during the crisis of her accession. His income rose precipitously during her reign and dropped very sharply after her death, when because of his adherence to the old religion he became, as he remained until he died, a mere country gentleman again.

So much for conformity to the available stereotypes. The deviations from standard, however, are more notable. Bacon was, according to one's taste, a calculating new man, or a man of the court. He increased his income, however, by no "bourgeois" application of new business methods, but mainly by the simple expedients of buying land at the good bargains his position opened up to him and raising the rents, as leases fell in, to something like the market value of the leasehold. As a man of his position needed to and wanted to, Bacon the court official built extensively, but never so expensively as to cause himself financial embarrassment, and in his household outlays as in all else he was moderate. At his death he left three sons by his first wife, none of whom enjoyed the benison of office. All three were mere gentry, all three were sheriffs and members of Parliament, and all three prospered on the estates that brought them between two thousand and four thousand pounds a year. If the loss of a court connection through their father's death did not bring financial disaster to Nicholas, Nathaniel, and Edward Bacon, the loss of his own court position was not permanently crippling to Sir Thomas Cornwallis. He had to cut expenses back fairly sharply when he was dismissed, but since he no longer needed to maintain the port of a courtier, his living costs went down too. In any case he brought his outlay into line with his income, neither sold land nor borrowed to keep what he had, and without much increasing his holdings, doubled his revenues from land in the twenty-five years after he lost office. As for the rising merchant, Thomas Cullum, he got rich, but apparently not through court favor, or supercharged exploitation of the estate he purchased, or even usury. He did it mainly by living modestly, thriftily, and long, and plowing his earnings back into his expanding cloth business. Whatever his commercial talents, they could not have much affected the management of his country estate, since he acquired it at the age of sixty-nine, only eight years before his death.

The results he obtained from a very heavy expenditure of patience and thoughtful effort, Simpson summarizes wisely but too modestly: "To one student, at least, the agrarian history of this century has turned out to be far more prosaic than he ever expected." To substitute the plain prose of what actually happened in that history for the sound and fury of what for the past two decades

historians have said happened but did not is a very considerable service. This is especially so, since Simpson shows why, despite the price revolution, agrarian history was prosaic. It was so, because the structure of landholding, at least in Suffolk, was such that by flock management and especially by adjusting rents when leases fell in, landlords who were not exceptionally unlucky or unthrifty could keep their incomes abreast of their expenses. Estates composed of freeholds and copyholds of inheritance with fines certain could only be made pay by the heroic expedient of buying up the tenures. But of landlords with such estates, Simpson finds none among those he has studied. Not the least service of his restoration of prose to the agrarian history of the age between the dissolution and the Restoration is that it suggests we look elsewhere if we would understand the political and religious history of the era, history which was not prosaic at all.

*Washington University*

J. H. HEXTER

SCOTLAND FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO 1603. By *William Croft Dickinson*. [A New History of Scotland, Volume I.] (New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons. 1961. Pp. viii, 408. \$10.00.)

SCOTLAND FROM 1603 TO THE PRESENT DAY. By *George S. Pryde*. [A New History of Scotland, Volume II.] (New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons. 1962. Pp. viii, 359. \$10.00.)

In this, the first general scholarly survey of its kind since the publication of Hume Brown's *History of Scotland* more than fifty years ago, academic distinction and scholarship are happily conjoined. Professor W. C. Dickinson holds the chair of Scottish history and literature at the University of Edinburgh, while Professor Pryde, until his death in July 1961, held the same post at Glasgow.

The appearance of a major work of this sort at a time when the ancient national identities of Europe may be on the verge of extinction within the larger entity of a new European political and economic community seems almost a paradox. And yet it also represents a kind of historiographical tenacity which, though not peculiar to Scotland, attests the longevity of Scottish historical memory. Indeed, if the Scottish case is any indicator, it will be a long time before the new European amalgamation can hope to expunge the kind of national feeling that expresses itself at least at the level of historical writing. Inevitably, of course, such a work as the present one must take on a parochial quality, particularly in the period covered by Pryde, because so much of modern Scotland's history cannot be separated from the larger whole of Great Britain with its London-centered orientation. In that respect it may be said that Dickinson's task was somewhat less difficult in so far as the subject to which he addressed himself was at least clearly delimited by politics as well as geography. Still, there are developments within the sphere of Scottish history since 1603 and more particu-

larly since 1707 that deserve to be, indeed must be, treated apart from the history of Britain, and it is these that one would expect to find delineated in a general treatment of the subject, as, in fact, many are. In such a treatment, however, the result must be produced by a process of intellectual and scholarly selection which means that the reader must rely on the expert knowledge of the author. Much skill is also required to avoid the special pitfall of so many textbook or survey writers, namely, that of simply re-presenting a great mass of factual material collected from a vast range of sources without first reworking it through the perceptive components of one's own mind.

Here it must be confessed somewhat sadly that there is an unevenness in the presentation of the two volumes. Dickinson, whose special talents as an outstanding textual editor and critic have been demonstrated in several publications, has set forth his material as one would expect a scholar of his capacities and experience to do. True, one must object to certain interpretations: feudalism, for example, was at once something more and something less in its Scottish manifestation than the rather conventionally described general European phenomenon that emerges in these pages. And yet there is in Dickinson's portrayal evidence of a thoughtfulness and analytical scope that makes the reader at once aware of the unique and the complex Scottish medieval development. He is less concerned with the sequence of detail, though he has a true scholarly sense of the importance of chronology, than he is with the meaningfulness of his material and the particular significance of his subject. The reader of the first volume thus has an almost instinctive feeling, even when he may know little of the place or period, that if an accurate and total re-creation of a nation's past may not be entirely possible at least Dickinson has pointed up those aspects of Scotland's history before 1603 that more nearly correspond to the vague thing we call historical truth.

In the second volume the results seem to be less happy, though we, in justice, must not overlook the facts of Pryde's untimely death and the greater unmanageability of his subject. The work has its insights and values. Pryde understood and pointed up the remarkable significance of the Anglo-Scottish Union of 1707 as no other living scholar could. Moreover, he touched upon aspects of Scottish life in rich detail, which must be useful both to the specialist and the general reader. But in so doing he failed to surmount a hazard: no survey could hope to present every facet of modern Scottish life so fully. As a result, the work sometimes becomes a recapitulation of names and events in chronological series. These are good things to know, but in the end we cannot know them all. In trying to present them so fully, many of the great questions and enigmas of Scottish history that give it a broader significance in European or even world context are not mentioned at all.

For all their differences, however, the two volumes are a distinct contribution to

Scottish and British historical writing, for both embody a knowledge, an understanding, and an empathy with their subject which would be difficult to surpass.

*Barnard College*

S. A. BURRELL

THE SCOTCH-IRISH: A SOCIAL HISTORY. By *James G. Leyburn*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1962. Pp. xix, 377. \$7.00.)

HISTORY may not repeat itself; historians repeat each other as discriminatively as possible. Many of them have written, factually or fancifully, on the Scotch-Irish. Now the sociologist James G. Leyburn furnishes the student who dislikes "assiduous reading of many of these monographs" with the first general account evenly balanced between its Scottish, Ulster, and American phases.

Leyburn disencumbers the story from his predecessors' racial notions and latter-day democratic biases. His Scots and Ulstermen are folk of their own time and place. But perhaps because the Scottish historiography on which he draws stresses political and economic affairs, he devotes more space to civil disorder and poverty—"something near barbarism"—than to the social *Gemeinschaft* in which his own interest lies. The resulting picture of insecurity and destitution among the Lowland peasantry of 1600 is "dark and drublie" enough, free of Victorian romancing about tartans and clansmen. Indeed, this emphasis suggests another modern calculus, whereby a thriving folk culture seems less significant than physical discomforts. But dirt floors and thatch do not a prison make.

This poses a difficulty for Leyburn, who, like other recent historians, finds the economic causes of emigration less interesting than the emigrants' social break with their feudal and communal past when crossing from Scotland to Ulster and thence to the still starker individualism of America. In this view the continual stripping away, over generations, of civilized institutions was not altogether compensated by the democratic ideas which, by the time the Scotch-Irish reached the Carolinas, made them "Americans rather than transplanted Europeans." Yet this important thesis is hard to establish without fresh evidence. Despite Leyburn's shrewd and novel speculations on frontier society and national character, his conventional evidence tends to underscore the old picture of steady progress from feudalism to democracy, from poverty to affluence, and from Celtic twilight to the bright sun of a pioneer clearing.

One could at least have more confidence in this retelling of an old story if quotations (many from textbooks, reviews, and other tertiary sources) had been meticulously collated with their originals, if references to controverted subjects like the Jacksonians or Federalists were less dated, or if an easier familiarity were displayed with proper names ("Clydeshire"; "the Con" O'Neill; a Galloway made to engulf Carrick, Kyle, Cunningham, and even the Lennox).

This is, to be sure, the best survey yet of the Scotch-Irish. Unfortunately it

overdoes the gloomy premise that "the social historian relies upon the findings of those who have done original research in special areas."

*Washington University*

ROWLAND BERTHOFF

PARTY POLITICS. Volume III, THE STUFF OF POLITICS. By *Sir Ivor Jennings*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1962. Pp. ix, 492. \$8.50.)

THIS is the third and final volume of Sir William Ivor Jennings' *Party Politics*. Volume I, subtitled *Appeal to the People* and published in 1960, was an analysis of the changing techniques of party politics. Volume II, *The Growth of Parties* (1961), was intended as a discussion of the historical development of political parties apart from questions of technique or of political theory. The present volume, also designed to be historical, concentrates on the ideas of politicians and of voters. Taken together, these volumes complete his "survey of British political institutions begun with *Cabinet Government* in 1936 and continued with *Parliament* in 1938."

"The stuff of politics," writes Jennings, "consists of the ideas and prejudices in the minds of the politicians...not very different from what is in the minds of their constituents." This volume attempts to trace the history of these ideas and prejudices since the Restoration. The author uses what he describes as the technique of the civil servant or legal adviser, picking out what seems to him to be relevant and emphasizing what he deems important in the light of "the learning of historians and political philosophers." He adds: "little attention has been paid to primary sources—none whatever to manuscript sources." Though chronology is respected, the material is treated topically, each topic being developed independently within the same chronological period, with occasional cross references. The result is a prolix and at times a repetitious book. The topics he chooses are "The Whig Constitution," "Church and King," "Liberty," "Nationalism" (these mainly from the seventeenth to the early nineteenth century), followed by "Imperialism," "Ireland," "Free Trade and Protection," and, finally, "The Welfare State and British Socialism." The product of this method is not a historical appraisal of the interaction and interplay of these concepts within a given time period but rather a series of parallel essays on various historical themes.

Not a specialist in many of these areas, the author depends on recognized authorities, but his use of their data and conclusions is not always wholly satisfactory. Thus, on two occasions he lists the Restoration acts for "ecclesiastical conformity," but is inaccurate in his dates. Again, he writes: "The Toleration Act, 1689, was narrow in its scope and did not apply at all to Unitarians. All this legislation applied to Roman Catholics as to other Nonconformists." He describes Charles II as being under the influence of his "son" James, Duke of York. His analysis of part of a 1904 pronouncement against protection by fourteen professors and lec-



turers in economics leads him to attribute the phrase "unjust distribution of wealth" to their acceptance of the individualist assumptions of Adam Smith, ignoring the fact that Adam Smith, a man of his times, was concerned with the increased production of wealth, not with its just distribution.

To use a phrase that Jennings applies to Dilke's brand of imperialism, this volume is "highly personal." Thus Jennings can speak of Methodism as "a religion without morality because it was based on a psychological conversion rather than moral persuasion." When, however, he deals with contemporary politics, he occasionally offers us superb bits, sometimes striking caricatures. Such are his description of the legislative process and his careful analysis of the complexities of the impact of "the condition of the people question" on the traditional political parties in the early nineteenth century. His three-volume study of *Party Politics* does not at all measure up to his two earlier works, *Cabinet Government* and *Parliament*. In them Jennings was an expert treating subjects with which he was completely familiar and where he was a master in the interpretation of his sources.

Brooklyn College

MADELINE R. ROBINTON

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF ISAAC NEWTON. Volume III, 1688-1694.

Edited by H. W. Turnbull. (New York: Cambridge University Press for the Royal Society of London. 1961. Pp. xviii, 445. \$25.00.)

UNDER this somewhat misleading title are included many letters about Newton, manuscript jottings by him, and memoranda on conversations with and about him. The editor, who did not live to see this volume published, believes that approximately sixty items have either never been published at all or only in extracts.

Of the new scientific items, the most interesting are the following: a manuscript by Newton, of 1665 or 1666, of which portions have previously been published by A. R. Hall, revealing the early stages of Newton's thought on motion and gravitation and the direct link between these speculations and his reading of Galileo; proofs of certain propositions concerning the Solid of Least Resistance which had been stated without explanation in the *Principia*, so that one is enabled to look behind the adamantine finish of the book to the actual methods by which it was constructed; memoranda by David Gregory on a conversation of 1693 with Christiaan Huygens about his objections to the *Principia*; and a series of very instructive memoranda by Gregory on conversations with Newton in 1694. In these memoranda, Gregory quotes Newton on the "continual miracle" "required to prevent the Sun and the fixed stars from rushing together through gravity," on projected emendations in a new edition of the *Principia*, and on Newton's having become acquainted in 1664, while still a student at Cambridge,

with "the method of fluxions although without the word fluxion" by considering the payment of interest on his mother's estate.

Apart from new information on Newton's own thought, the present volume contains a generous documentation of the response to his theories by his great contemporaries Leibniz and Huygens. Huygens persisted, over Newton's objections, in trying to invoke the ether as the cause of gravity. One discerns in him not merely a mathematician of genius chafing a little at the triumphs of a rival, but also a representative of the powerful instinct, surviving into the eighteenth century, that a theory of attraction at a distance smacked of the occult and represented a threat to the "Mechanical Philosophy."

A final element of interest in this volume is the terrible revelation in Newton's letters to Samuel Pepys and John Locke in September 1693 of the nervous breakdown that overtook him. He wants Locke to forgive him for saying that Locke was a "Hobbist" endeavoring to strike at the "root of morality" and for "this uncharitableness," that "when one told me you were sickly & would not live I answered twere better if you were dead." Over against these appalling letters must be set the uniformly sunny and generous correspondence with his young Genevan friend, Fatio de Duillier.

*Harvard University*

DONALD FLEMING

THE BRITISH CABINET. By *John P. Mackintosh*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1962. Pp. xi, 546. \$7.00.)

THIS book evolved from a project to bring out a new edition of A. Berriedale Keith's *British Cabinet System*, published nearly twenty-five years ago and in a second edition, revised by N. H. Gibbs of Oxford, in 1952. In the course of considerable work in preparation for a third edition, it became clear that an adequate revision would result in a new book, rather than in a new edition of an old one, and John P. Mackintosh, formerly of the faculty of Edinburgh University, was asked to write it. In doing so he has made a distinguished contribution to the historical literature on the British cabinet besides giving us, especially in his copious footnotes, what amounts to a commentary and critique on much of that literature.

As would be expected, most of the book is devoted to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The author's procedure in his research has been to study the firsthand sources that are in print; to supplement them, where they become scanty, with manuscript collections; and, in order to bring his treatment of twentieth-century developments up to date, to interview some thirty former cabinet ministers, as well as civil servants and others who have observed the cabinet at work. The use of personal interviews as historical sources is emphasized in his brief preface as a marked feature of his research—not, of course, that there is

anything new about a method of historical investigation which is at least as old as Thucydides.

Mackintosh pilots his readers, learnedly and skillfully, along a course that extends from the reign of Charles II to the administration of Harold Macmillan, that is full of obstacles to smooth and easy navigation, and that has not followed any blueprint for the construction of a "cabinet system." It is, however, difficult in any summary treatment, as he remarks, "to avoid conveying the impression that development was more deliberate and consistent than was the case." If he has ever been tempted by the beguilements of presentism, it would be hard to find evidence of it in these pages. In reading his thoroughly informed discussion of cabinet origins in the seventeenth century, for example, one is reminded of what Maitland, with his superb sense of "historicality," called the besetting sin in the tradition of English legal history, namely, antedating the emergence of the modern, reminded of it because Mackintosh so steadfastly abstains from this sin; *he never hurries history*. Nor does he commit another transgression to which presentists are prone. *He does not oversimplify history*. When a theme is complicated, as are so many of those he is concerned with, his presentation is not vitiated historically by efforts at expository simplicity. His book, quite evidently, was not intended for purely passive readers; it is the work of a scholar addressing himself to *inquiring* students. These will hardly be looking for a literary bed of roses. Nor, it may be surmised, is he really interested in making learning attractive to those who have to be persuaded to its quest.

Yet there is a delightful footnote on page 115 that seemed to me almost touching, though humorous withal. It relates to a "very long letter" which that very well-meaning though very un-English Baron Stockmar wrote to Prince Albert to console him for recent attacks; and in this footnote there is quoted, with approval, Gladstone's judgment, expressed years later, on that extraordinary document, namely that "a congeries of propositions stranger in general result never . . . was amassed in order to explain to the unlearned the more mysterious lessons embraced in the study of the British Monarchy."

And what of the British cabinet in the years ahead? Mackintosh is too wise to attempt to answer such a question. He is, after all, no more a futurist than a presentist. Some trends could be traced through the last part of his book, which is entitled "The Cabinet in Modern Conditions" and comprises about two-fifths of the entire work, but they would not support the view that a cabinet "system," following an assumed "pattern," is in process of evolution. Yet *tempora mutantur nos et mutamur in illis*.

Rochester, New York

ROBERT LIVINGSTON SCHUYLER

THE COMING OF THE WELFARE STATE. By *Maurice Bruce*. (London: B. T. Batsford. 1961. Pp. xi, 307. 35s.)

It is Mr. Bruce's assignment, as author of the first volume in Professor Geoffrey

Barraclough's *Turning Points in British History Series*, to trace the growth of the complex network of social services that we have agreed to call the "welfare state." For, however decisive may have been the Second World War in creating the necessary social temper and the Beveridge Report in reducing vague aspirations to specific proposals, the antecedents of the welfare state lie well in the past. Although in their philosophy and administration, the modern social services appear to have little in common with the poor law system, there is a recognizable line of descent from the great Elizabethan statutes to, say, the National Assistance Act of 1948.

What placed the old problem in a new setting was, of course, the onset of industrialism, with its concomitants of massed poverty, urban congestion, and the rest, and from the 1830's and 1840's the British state found itself pushed, hesitantly but indubitably, along the path of intervention. Britain's response to the pressures of industrialism and the hazards of urban living was formulated by piecemeal, trial-and-error methods, and even now is anything but a neatly articulated construction. The evolution of the welfare state forms a complicated, confusing story, and one which Bruce's volume does not wholly succeed in untangling. His lines of development are not sharply delineated, and the excessive subtitles, at some points one to a paragraph, serve not so much to clarify the narrative as to fragment it. But the author has done his work conscientiously, his judgments appear to be soundly based (though often expressed in fairly leaden prose), and, in short, he has produced a useful handbook on an important theme.

To Bruce—and one would certainly not quarrel with this view—the critical steps toward the welfare state were taken by the governments of the Edwardian period, Conservative as well as Liberal. In retrospect these innovations may seem timid and tentative, but almost all were, in principle, revolutionary, and, as the next half century was to demonstrate, capable of vast extension. The Unemployed Workmen Act of 1905, inadequate as it was, and the Old Age Pensions Act, at least by implication, accepted as a national responsibility certain categories of social insecurity, and the National Insurance Act, as Lloyd George noted privately, looked ahead to the day when "the obligation of the State to find labour or sustenance will be realised."

Yet these statutes, far from creating a system of protective services, were little more than a series of expedients designed to meet particular situations. To expand them into a comprehensive scheme required the sense of community and the new social awareness kindled by the Second World War. Even then the decision was not spontaneous and immediate. The Beveridge Report, Bruce recalls, went through its "Boom and Boycott" phase, evoking little enthusiasm from either Churchill or Bevin, and the Prime Minister's broadcast of March 1943, in which he accepted the Beveridge program, was a rather tepid commitment. Still it was a commitment, and during the following months the coalition not only drafted its proposals (in what Beveridge called the "White Paper Chase"), but began to em-

body them in legislative action. Although much was left for Attlee's Labour government, the welfare building that it reared plainly rested on foundations laid down by earlier generations.

*Harvard University*

DAVID OWEN

THE STORY OF FABIAN SOCIALISM. By *Margaret Cole*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press; London: Heinemann. 1961. Pp. xv, 366. \$6.50.)

HERE at last is an up-to-date, full-scale history of the Fabian Society, by an author with unsurpassed personal knowledge of the subject and access to the correspondence files and executive minutes of the society. The Fabians have long fascinated students of British politics, as a small but potent organization of hardheaded reformers who, in the words of an earlier Fabian historian, Edward Pease, "applied the method of social engineering to questions hitherto left to the realm of sentiment." Where else, in the politics of a democratic country, could one find so tantalizing a mixture of backstairs influence and high-mindedness? Yet there has been no satisfactory general study of the Fabians' eight decades. Pease's book is old and covers but half the period. Recent works on the origins of the British Labour party have diminished somewhat the early Fabians' reputation, by showing their failure to see the potential of labor in politics. They played but a small part in the creation and early nurturing of the Labour party, however important their contributions may have been to the changing intellectual climate of the times and to the willingness of successive British governments to use the engine of state for purposes of social reform and economic planning.

Margaret Cole does not attempt to reverse these judgments. Indeed, not only is she very forthright about the political ineptitude of those supposed masters of intrigue, Sidney and Beatrice Webb, but she also takes Sidney to task for "his complete unscrupulousness in making use of confidential information in furtherance of 'good' causes" and aptly compares his writing style to "the slow passing of an infinitely long, laden freight train." She also supports George Bernard Shaw's criticisms of the early Fabians' insularity; they were, she says, "the least internationally conscious of any radical group." As for the famous policy of "permeation," its achievements, with the sole (and ambiguous) exception of the Education Act of 1902, were minor, and the suspicions that it aroused among Labour politicians and other non-Fabian socialists were considerable. On the other hand, Mrs. Cole gives full credit both to the pioneers and to their successors for their promotion of the Fabian spirit of factual investigation and for their great output of work; they amply justified their description of themselves, which she quotes, as "communicative learners." And eventually, through Sidney Webb's *Labour and the New Social Order*, their message reached the Labour party decisively enough.

The book is liveliest and most interesting in its first half; in the later chapters, the author has increasing difficulty in pursuing her announced intention to write "a history, not of the Fabian Society in isolation, but of Fabian Socialism"; the cataloguing of activities tends to dominate, and the treatment becomes thinner. Yet, if the author has not quite trapped her elusive prey, she has given us an indispensable picture of it on the run. This is far the most adequate study of the Fabians yet made.

*Stanford University*

RICHARD W. LYMAN

HISTORY OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR. BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR. By *Sir Llewellyn Woodward*. (London: H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1962. Pp. lv, 592. \$7.00 postpaid.)

SINCE the British government has neither opened its Foreign Office archives nor published any collection of diplomatic documents for the period of the First World War, this volume comes as a surprise, but obviously it is an essential part of the *History of the Second World War* now being published by Her Majesty's government. The author, a distinguished historian who was for many years a professor at the Institute for Advanced Study and also an editor of *Documents on British Foreign Policy, 1919-1939*, has had "free access to official documents," but "alone is responsible for the statements made and the views expressed." Thus the book is hardly "official" history such as might be put out by the Department of State. It is perhaps best described as a summary, with numerous quotations, of the files of the Foreign Office, with a minimum of comment and criticism by Sir Llewellyn Woodward. (Very little use is made of German, Russian, or United States documents.) He writes on the basis of what the Foreign Office knew at the time and is not concerned with what has become known since the war. The nearest he comes to criticism is to record, as he does in numerous cases, that the Foreign Office did not approve of what the Prime Minister was proposing or doing and in most instances to imply that the Foreign Office was right. The House of Commons does not appear in the narrative, although the Prime Minister was constrained to hold secret sessions of Parliament from time to time. It is not surprising that Woodward provides few revelations (except in details), for Sir Winston Churchill's multivolumed narrative of the war has already told the essential facts about British foreign policy, and Woodward has not discovered "secret treaties" comparable to those concluded from 1914 to 1917.

There are two outstanding themes in the book. One is the clear and accurate, as events revealed, view of Russia possessed by the Foreign Office, a view shared by Churchill, but not always accepted by Roosevelt. At the end of the narrative, the point is made that if Japan had surrendered three weeks earlier, the Soviet government would not have been able to drive so hard a bargain at Potsdam.

The other theme is the continuing controversy between Churchill and Roosevelt. They differed about the policies to be followed toward Russia, Poland, Yugoslavia, Italy, Spain, Vichy, Free France, Palestine, China, Japan, Argentina, and even Germany, for Roosevelt and Stalin both favored dismemberment, whereas the Foreign Office did not, and Churchill was doubtful. One wonders that the two leaders ever agreed on anything. Sometimes they compromised, and sometimes Churchill yielded to Roosevelt, but Churchill was largely responsible for the abandonment of the Morgenthau plan for Germany. Just as the Foreign Office did not always agree with Churchill, so the State Department was often at loggerheads with Roosevelt. Occasionally there was a four-sided melee. Often complaint is registered that Roosevelt acted without consulting Churchill or the Foreign Office. Through these complicated disputes, Woodward threads his way clearly, and if, as an Englishman, he now and again points out inconsistencies in the American approach to problems, he does so in good temper. Thus, at Yalta, "the President and his entourage continued to assume that, unlike Great Britain, Russia was not an imperialist power." He is to be heartily congratulated on a book which makes plain what Britain did and why it did it.

The book contains little about the economic aspects of wartime diplomacy, the reader being referred to specialized treatments of these problems by other writers. Nor does it deal with "unofficial" overtures for peace made from time to time by the enemy powers.

*Alexandria, Virginia*

BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT

HISTOIRE DU CATHOLICISME EN FRANCE. Volume II, SOUS LES ROIS TRÈS CHRÉTIENS. By *A. Latreille et al.* (Paris: Édition Spes. [1960.] Pp. 508.)

THIS is the second volume of a projected three on the history of Roman Catholicism in France. The series is not intended to provide a work of reference for scholars, but rather a survey for the general informed reader in France. It accordingly contains no footnotes or volume indexes, presents almost all quoted matter in French, and almost always limits its chapter bibliographies to a selection of the most obvious monographs in French. It will nevertheless prove useful to all American students of the subject, for it is a synthesis in the great French tradition—beautifully organized, lucidly written, well abreast of most modern scholarship, appropriately judicious. To call the present volume judicious, however, is only to say that it avoids the more obvious traps in judgment that can result from religious or national bias, not to claim that it contains no strong opinions. Professor Latreille, who wrote this volume's second half, is quite harsh in his judgments on the Jansenists: he speaks at one point, for example, of the "Jansenist cancer." He is also sharp in his criticism of Cardinal Mazarin, while gen-



erous in his opinion of the piety and zeal of Cardinal Richelieu. Canon Delaruelle, who wrote the first half, is somewhat more measured in his judgments, for example on the earliest French Protestants. He has little to say about earlier "heresies," but such a subject is to some extent beyond the intended scope of the series.

That scope is delineated with intentional precision by the title: this is a history of Roman Catholicism in France, not of the Gallican Church, not of Christianity in France. The principal secondary theme of this particular volume is delineated with equal care in its subtitle: it focuses on Roman Catholicism in a period when a significant share of its leadership in France was assumed by the country's "Most Christian" kings, more precisely from the rule of St. Louis in the mid-thirteenth century to that of Louis XV's ministers in the early eighteenth century (with 1740 as terminal date). Many of the chapters are accordingly devoted to sharply organized summary narratives of the history of royal religious policy. Interspersed among them, however, are chapters analyzing institutions or describing popular piety in different periods. These last are necessarily somewhat impressionistic, but are handled with skill, drawing heavily on artistic and literary evidence. There are also chapters and extended passages providing explanations and assessing significance, often in a roughly sociological way. While important theological developments are discussed, there is little attempt to analyze them technically or at length.

Altogether this volume provides a useful introduction to an important subject and a fine synthesis of much recent work upon it.

*State University of Iowa*

ROBERT M. KINGDON

UNE CROISSANCE: LA BASSE-PROVENCE RURALE (FIN XVI<sup>e</sup> SIÈCLE-1789). ESSAI D'ÉCONOMIE HISTORIQUE STATISTIQUE. Volume I, TEXTE; Volume II, GRAPHIQUES. By *René Baehrel*. [École Pratique des Hautes Études—VI<sup>e</sup> Section. Centre de Recherches Historiques. Démographie et sociétés, Volume VI.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1961. Pp. 842; 36.)

This work is another in a series which has vastly enriched our knowledge of economic and social life in France before 1789. While welcomed by specialists able to interpret the astonishingly complete statistics on their own, these volumes remain a mixed blessing for the general historian. Their wealth of detail on economic life, population, social structure, and institutions lulls the nonspecialist into overlooking problems of historical and statistical method, which put the conclusions of these works in doubt. This is especially true for Baehrel, where method fights a running battle with conditions in Basse-Provence to gain the attention of the reader. This lack of emphasis does not diminish the value of the work, but it

lessens the reader's ability to seize the impact of the author's findings in both fields.

What if the reader should ask whether the seventeenth century in France was an era of growth, stagnation, or decline? The historians in this series, including Baehrel, use essentially the same types of documentation in a number of small areas of France and sometimes arrive at very contradictory conclusions. In short, readers are unable to discover if it was the diversity of economic and social life in the *ancien régime* or the diversity of statistical method that caused the different conclusions. We must wait for a synthesis and, in the meantime, present the conclusions reached for each small region.

Baehrel's work begins with systematic proofs indicating that gold and silver content in coins need not be a concern for price and social history. This revisionism sets the tone for succeeding chapters where, with the excellent lists of grain, wine, olive oil, wool, firewood, and meat prices as a foundation, Baehrel tests and modifies several theories of economic change. He generally builds upon Simiand's scheme of cycles, periods, and phases in agricultural exploitation, taken as a means to explain price cycles, depression, and prosperity. Hence, he requires extensive calculations of the amounts of land in different sectors of agricultural exploitation, mainly for grain fields, vineyards, and pastures from the cadastres.

For the Basse-Provence, the seventeenth century was generally a period of sustained growth based on a rise in agricultural production, consequent high capital investment in farming, and on an increase in population. This was followed by a brutal economic crisis beginning about 1690 and lasting to about 1730, when all the trends noted above were in reverse. After 1730 there was again a gradual growth to the end of the century, though not so great as in the previous century. Baehrel relies mainly on factors in rural society itself to explain these great shifts. These were the decline in balanced exploitation of the land (many farmers turned to vineyards), the diminution of fresh lands which could be profitably exploited, and a decline in population, especially at the working age. The author discusses briefly the effect of climate, epidemics, war, and taxation on rural life and concludes that they were secondary factors in explaining great economic changes. At this point, it is curious to note that although Baehrel explores every other avenue, he does not even speculate on the influence of royal legislation, apart from taxation, on the rural economy, a consequence perhaps of his too close reliance on both Simiand and Labrousse.

In analyzing the social structure, Baehrel estimates the number in each class and calculates how much arable land each exploited. He concludes that prosperity and depression affected each class, leaving the *inégalité des fortunes* nearly stable. The seigneurie, commune, and parish are brilliantly described as the institutions dominating rural economic life. The chapter on the struggle between the seigneur and the commune over the control of revenues and communal debt, as well as the role of the crown in these affairs, and Baehrel's daring conclusions such

as those on the attitudes of rural Frenchmen toward Church tithes and the monarchy, leave me wishing for more substantial treatment in these areas from so able a scholar.

*Columbia University*

OREST RANUM

RELIGIOUS HISTORY OF MODERN FRANCE. Volume I, FROM THE REVOLUTION TO THE THIRD REPUBLIC; Volume II, UNDER THE THIRD REPUBLIC. By *Adrien Dansette*. Translated by *John Dingle*. (New York: Herder and Herder. 1961. Pp. xi, 362; xiv, 466. \$16.50 the set.)

THIS translation of Adrien Dansette's *Histoire religieuse de la France contemporaine* (2 volumes, 1948, 1951), one of the most recent and outstanding general histories in this field, is a welcome addition to the all too few works by modern French historians available in English, although the translation is not completely satisfactory, and the abridgment of the original work by some three hundred pages is unfortunate. Some of the flavor of the original has been lost by omitting quotations from the sources, and ideas have been obscured by frequent deletions of two or three sentences from paragraphs. The extensive bibliographies have not been included. Dansette, however, has approved the abridgments, and the Church has given its *nihil obstat* and imprimatur, which do not appear in the original edition.

This is a work both of synthesis and original research, so comprehensive in scope and rich in detail that it is difficult to comment upon it in a brief review. Although it is not documented, from the bibliographies it appears that for the first volume Dansette has used general histories of the Church, scholarly monographs, and lectures on religious questions from 1814 to 1876, given by M. Pouthas at the Sorbonne, based upon research in the Archives Nationales. For the second volume, on the Third Republic, much the longer of the two, the author has consulted in addition the *Archives de l'ancienne direction des cultes* (F 19) and collections of private papers. His viewpoint is that of a devout Liberal Catholic, but he presents with objectivity and understanding the position of the papacy and conservative Catholics. He is less moderate in depicting the anticlericals.

Dansette's theme is the conflict between the Church and modern society arising from the French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution. He warns the reader in the original edition that he will consider Protestantism and Judaism only occasionally. The Catholic Church in France, he says, has undergone three major crises: the Albigensian revolt, the Protestant Reformation, and the Revolution of 1789, each of which was followed by a restoration. In the eighteenth century the Church was weakened by parlementaire Gallicanism, Jansenism, the doctrines of the philosophes, and the close association of the Church with the privileged classes. According to Dansette, the French Revolution, after destroying the organization of the Church and depriving it of its control of society and the state, at-

tacked Christianity itself. The Church was left in the nineteenth century with four major problems: its reconstruction and reorganization, its alienation of the political forces on the Right, its philosophical position, and its relations with the working class. The first was met through the Concordat, the resurrection of the religious orders, contributions of the faithful and state revenues, the Church system of education, the growing ultramontanistism of the clergy, and proclamation of papal infallibility. The secular clergy, however, were not as strong in 1877 as in 1789. The political fortunes of the Church fluctuated with each change in regime. Universal suffrage, which was to its advantage from 1848 to 1876, led under the Third Republic to the secularization of the schools, the measures against the religious orders, and the separation of Church and state. The first attempt to reconcile the Church and modern society was that of the Liberal Catholics from 1830 to 1847, centered around La Mennais, whom Dansette considers one of the two great visionaries of the nineteenth century (the other, he says, was Marx). La Mennais's condemnation by Pope Gregory XVI ended this effort, but another was made under the Second Republic, when the first Christian Democratic movement was founded. The threat to social order, however, forced the Church to support the side of authority. The Liberal Catholics remained in the minority, unfortunately, and the Church suffered under the Third Republic because of its ties with the monarchists. But the attainment of freedom of secondary education in 1850 and of higher education in 1875 were victories for the Liberal Catholics. The effort of Pope Leo XIII to bring about the *Ralliement* constituted the third attempt at reconciliation; it succeeded only in postponing the fulfillment of the anticlerical program, and the conflict was renewed under Pius X. The fourth attempt at reconciliation, from 1914 to 1930, achieved partial success because of the war, the decline of secularist philosophies, papal condemnation of the *Action française*, and Liberal Catholic stress on practical realities. The regular clergy gained in numbers, and although the poverty of the secular clergy resulted in fewer parishes, it also brought about a reconciliation between the regular and secular clergy. Catholic elementary schools suffered, but secondary education improved, and the anticlerical education laws were interpreted liberally or ignored.

Dansette hopes to complete his study, which ends in 1930, in the future, but in the meantime he has published *Destin du catholicisme français, 1926-1956*, in which he foresees a new crisis for the Catholic Church. Since it is bound to a bourgeois society and Western institutions, which are rejected by the proletariat and new nations of Asia and Africa, its principle of universality will suffer.

Clearly organized, vivid in style, and skillful in characterization, these two volumes constitute an absorbing and illuminating history of the relations between Church and state in modern France.

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EVELYN M. ACOMB

ARCHIVES PARLEMENTAIRES. First Series, 1787-1799. Volume LXXXIII, DU 16 NIVÔSE AU 8 PLUVIÔSE AN II. Edited by *Marcel Reinhard et al.* (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique. 1961. Pp. 787. 58 N.F.)

AFTER a lapse of almost half a century the publication of the most important single source collection for the study of the French Revolution is now resumed. All workers in the field will hail the appearance of Volume LXXXIII of the *Archives parlementaires*, First Series, which picks up the debates and proceedings of the National Convention on January 5, 1794, and carries the record through the session of January 27 of the same year. In the revised edition of his *Manuel pratique* (1947) Pierre Caron almost completely discounted the possibility of renewing the publication of this series. Thanks to governmental financial aid and the devoted labor of the late Georges Lefebvre and his editorial associates of the *Institut d'Histoire de la Révolution française*, Marcel Reinhard and Marc Bouloiseau, Caron's misgivings have been belied. The prospects are bright for the completion of the series, which is intended to end with the last sessions of 1799.

As the preface explains, the present editorial policy is largely modeled on that in Volume LXXII (1907) where the debates of the National Convention begin. Several modifications have been introduced, however, to produce greater accuracy, clarity, and economy. As before, the point of departure remains the official procès-verbal. The many gaps in that skeletal and lapidary account are filled in by extracts from newspapers, now more extensively than earlier. The order established by the procès-verbal is followed, *faute de mieux*, explain the editors.

For each meeting of the assembly there are three categories of data: the material in the procès-verbal, printed in boldface; data omitted in the procès, but recovered from archival documents or newspapers; the *pièces annexes*, important documents difficult in most instances for a researcher to get at, such as lists and tables, justifications, and commentaries which were not read during the session itself, but were relevant to it and highly illuminating. Documents addressed to the National Convention and transmitted to it directly by the Committee on Petitions are also given. In the desire to restore as much as is possible of the living atmosphere of the sessions, without making a distorted mosaic of developments, the editors have prefaced the decree voted (and summarily given in the procès-verbal) by the preliminary report and the accompanying discussion from the floor. The chronological table and the general alphabetic index are also retained, but greatly expanded, in this volume to thirty-two and twenty-one pages, respectively.

The sampling of this volume elicits personal fugitive regrets that it was not available when the data within it was meticulously garnered in less expeditious

fashion. This sampling fully warrants and justifies the hopes and the intentions of the editors to make this volume and the ones to follow indispensable *instruments de travail*.

New York University

LEO GERSHOY

DE FIRMA DELLA FAILLE EN DE INTERNATIONALE HANDEL VAN VLAAMSE FIRMA'S IN DE 16e EEUW. By *Wilfrid Brulez*. [Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België. Klasse der Letteren, Number 35.] (Brussels: Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie. 1959. Pp. xxvi, 634.)

LETTRES MARCHANDES D'ANVERS. In four volumes. By *V. Vazquez de Prada*. [École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI<sup>e</sup> Section. Centre de Recherches Historiques. Affaires et gens d'affaires, Number 18.] ([Paris:] S.E.V.P.E.N. [1960; 1960; 1960; 1961]. Pp. 358; 387; 233; 403. 34.50 N. F.; 45 N. F.; 45 N. F.; 45 N. F.)

In the past two decades only one major work has appeared dealing with the principal international port and distributing center of sixteenth-century Europe (Oskar de Smedt, *De Engelse natie te Antwerpen in de xvi<sup>e</sup> eeuw* [2 volumes, 1950-54]). Now, close together, two important contributions to Antwerp's history in the century of its economic hegemony have been published.

One is a detailed study of the leading Flemish firm of merchants active in international trade during the second half of the sixteenth century. The book also contains several chapters on the role of other Antwerp merchants trading abroad. The Della Faille firm could be studied because their descendants have preserved the family archives, including mercantile account books and business correspondence, especially for the last quarter of the century.

The second contribution is a text publication of the letters written from Antwerp by his factor and his correspondents to Simon Ruiz, the prominent merchant in Medina del Campo during the reign of Philip II. This correspondence is extant in the famous Ruiz archives. As Henri Lapeyre had already published a business history of the Ruiz firm (*Une famille de marchands, les Ruiz* [see *AHR*, LXII (Oct. 1956), 126]), the editor of the three volumes of letters from Antwerp (1558-1589) has devoted his introductory volume to Antwerp, the great commercial and banking metropolis, and to its trade and financial relations with the Iberian Peninsula. Only the first chapter summarizes the history of the Ruiz firm and describes briefly its archives.

Since the Della Faille traded primarily with England and Italy, and to a limited extent with Germany, Brulez has emphasized business relations with these countries. Thus the studies complement each other.

There are some three thousand letters from Antwerp to Ruiz, almost all written in Spanish. The editor usually gives the full text, including the exchange

quotations commonly found at the end of business letters. Only occasionally does he give a summary in French. In the 1570's many of the letters are from the Lucchese firm of merchant-bankers, Benedetto and Bernardino Bonvisi, with branches in Antwerp and Lyons. In the early 1580's Lamberto Lamberti takes the place of the Bonvisi, and from 1585, Camillo and Cristoforo Balbani, also of Lucca.

The letters deal primarily with the commercial and financial affairs of Simon Ruiz during the troublesome years after the Duke of Alva's arrival in the Netherlands. One may be surprised that business continued as well as it apparently did. Ruiz imported cloth, linens, tapestries, metals, and wax. He exported wool, olive oil, salt, pepper, cochineal, and saffron. Antwerp absorbed a large proportion of the cochineal from the New World. Between 1575 and 1588 Ruiz dealt in *assientos*, that is, transfers for the payment of the Spanish troops in the Low Countries. The Balbani and Bonvisi letters also show that Ruiz speculated on exchange for the fairs of Lyons, Besançon, and Antwerp.

Political information, war news, the menace of the corsairs to shipping, and the effects of the financial operations of the Spanish crown enliven the letters. A table of the *assientos* concluded in Antwerp between 1577 and 1602, published at the end of the introductory volume, impresses one with the tremendous cost to Spain of the war in the Netherlands. There are also tables of prices of merchandise, insurance rates, and exchange rates in Antwerp for the second half of the century.

Altogether Vasquez de Prada's introductory volume is a very readable, accurate, and scholarly description of Antwerp in the sixteenth century and merits a large audience.

Brulez's book likewise deserves to be widely read, but here the language barrier makes this unlikely. Why do bilingual Belgians not publish all scholarly works in an international language such as French to make them accessible to foreign readers?

Brulez has written an absorbing history of the Della Faille firm from the 1530's when Jean, the founder of the firm, was a young clerk in Venice to the liquidation of the firm in 1594 by his son Martin. Father and son and some of their associates are vividly portrayed. The Della Faille carried on trade between England, Antwerp, and Italy, with factors in London, Venice, and Verona. They dealt chiefly in textiles. English cloth, especially kerseys, Lille grosgrains, and Dutch linens were shipped overland to Italy, some to be sent on to the Levant. From Verona silk embroidery floss and sewing thread were imported, and from Venice, silk fabrics.

On his father's death in 1582, Martin formed a partnership with the three factors. The firm's activities were expanded: a variety of goods were sent by sea to Spain and to Naples. The sea voyages were risky: high profits on some ventures were canceled by heavy losses on others, so that the overland trade



proved in the long run more profitable. Martin invested rather heavily in landed property, and his descendants abandoned trade for careers in law, government, and the Church. Following the usual pattern, the family eventually rose into the nobility with a baronial title.

New information and new interpretations abound in this work. A twenty-page summary in French contains the major revisions. Others had pointed out that Flemish merchants played a greater role in international trade than was formerly believed. This detailed study of one firm, together with the sketches of other Flemish firms included in the volume, enables us to really understand how important the Flemings were as merchants during the sixteenth century.

*Boston University*

FLORENCE EDLER DE ROOVER

THE RISE AND FALL OF THE THIRD REICH: A HISTORY OF NAZI GERMANY. By *William L. Shirer*. (New York: Simon and Schuster. 1960. Pp. xii, 1245. \$10.00.)

WILLIAM L. Shirer's history of the Third *Reich* is woefully inadequate. Even the title is defective. It is essentially a biography of Hitler, an approach that is valid since Nazism cannot be understood apart from Hitler. Unfortunately, the biographer has not deepened our understanding of Hitler and his political handiwork. Shirer's monumental narrative does not rise above the most commonplace level of understanding.

The book is a literary tour de force. Much that is trivial has been elaborated because it is entertaining; much that is important has been omitted because it might be dull. An imbalance also results from Shirer's dependence upon an oversimplified historical structure derived from the popular as well as the wartime writing about Hitler and the Nazis. No serious intellectual demands are ever made upon the reader because Shirer avoids any attempt to develop insights into twentieth-century historical themes and political systems. His determined innocence frequently carries over into naïveté. An extensive reading of sources and secondary works—somewhat one-sided, with some important omissions—has neither led him into any unexplored aspects of the Third Reich, nor has it impressed him with the subtlety and sophistication that characterize the best studies of that topic. As a consequence, Shirer's immense reservoir of information has merely flooded the old familiar channels. The inadequacies of Shirer's account could be dismissed out of hand if his book had not found an enormous audience.

Shirer has not gathered his multitudes by retailing sensationalism: he has given them the assurance that they had always understood the Third *Reich* and German history. That the former is the natural consequence of the latter is the burden of the first hundred pages. What follows is neither painful nor dull reading. The lesson steadily mounts in interest to become increasingly exciting. The narrative, poor though it may be as history, has a sustained dramatic tension.

Each episode moves to a climax, and the successive episodes achieve a grand climax—the *Wehrmacht's* defeat and Hitler's suicide.

This outcome stands in striking contrast to the author's literary means. Shirer writes undistinguished prose, devoid of memorable phrase or original metaphor. To re-enforce his popular tone the author has made clever use of dialogue taken from postwar court records, official minutes, or memoirs. This dialogue has the ring of authenticity, but authentic history suffers because Shirer uses these quotations as a device to heighten the drama.

How thorough is Shirer's knowledge of the sources and the scholarly literature? The answer must come from the internal evidence since the bibliography and footnotes are not a completely interconnected "apparatus." The principal sources appear to be the *Documents on German Foreign Policy* published by the State Department and the *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression*, the records of the Nuremberg War Crimes Tribunal as first published in 1946. His one-sided reliance on the German foreign policy documents helps to explain his neglect of the international scene. Shirer gives little indication, either for the period before 1933 or after it, that the troubled state of international affairs had an important bearing on German politics or Hitler's initial diplomatic triumphs.

Nor is there much evidence that Shirer has used the microfilms of captured German war records. Yet since he indicates an awareness of this material the extent of his use of it must remain conjectural. Less doubt attaches to his omission of the most recent scholarly publications in this country or abroad. There is only an oblique reference to the *Institut für Zeitgeschichte* and its quarterly, the international forum for students of contemporary German history. Neither the bibliography nor the text shows an acquaintance with the leading German scholars' work on the *Third Reich*. Equally serious is the neglect of interpretive or reflective studies in any language.

For a study on this scale surprisingly little is said about Hitler's close associates. The flat portrayals of character stem partly from Shirer's limitations as a writer, partly from his oversimplified grand design, which severely limits the background of twentieth-century ideas, politics, movements, and international affairs. This weakness is most evident in Shirer's handling of the Nazi revolution.

Toward the high-ranking officers and toward the German people Shirer aims a barrage of moral criticism that is never relieved by any consideration of the continuous moral dilemma that confronts decent men under totalitarian rule. Those Germans courageous enough to resist Hitler, or to protest his methods, are repaid in this account by silence or scorn. Lest this criticism be misinterpreted, it should be added that Shirer has little to say about the resistance movements in Nazi-occupied Europe, a very serious omission by itself.

By making German history responsible, Shirer has apparently concluded that he can ignore the question: what is Nazism? He does not scrutinize totalitarian-

ism, either as an entirely new kind of tyranny or as a technical improvement upon the old kind. It is simply reduced to Hitler's exercise of absolute authority through sycophants who controlled the stunned masses.

Selectivity is characteristic of the author's method. Only the military events between 1939 and 1942 are related in detail. Even here land warfare dominates the narrative. Shirer does grasp the strategic issues posed by Hitler's warmaking in Europe. Since Shirer unrolls only "large maps," he generally describes military operations, particularly in the east, with clarity. Shirer's facility in this respect does not compensate for his book's essential weakness as history. Its defects must be ascribed to the author's lack of general ideas. The excitement inherent in his story cannot conceal this basic flaw. It keeps Shirer on the surface of events so that his narrative unfolds "an endless happening."

University of Oregon

WILLIAM O. SHANAHAN

KRIEGSTAGEBUCH DES OBERKOMMANDOS DER WEHRMACHT (WEHRMACHTFÜHRUNGSSTAB), 1940-1945. Volume IV, 1. JANUAR 1944-22. MAI 1945. In two volumes. Foreword and commentary by *Percy Ernst Schramm*. (Frankfurt am Main: Bernard & Graefe Verlag für Wehrwesen. 1961. Pp. xxxvi, 971; 975-1940. DM 118.)

RELIEVED of his command for failure to stop the Allied offensive in France in August 1944, accused by Hitler of collusion with the enemy, and air-borne back across the old battlefields of France to face interrogation and virtually certain death by hanging as General Feld Marschall von Witzleben had died or compulsory suicide which Rommel chose, General Feld Marschall Günter von Kluge also chose suicide. While thus *in extremis* he wrote to Hitler a letter which the editor, Professor Percy Ernst Schramm, calls one of the most frightful documents of German history. In this long communication (*Dokumente A.II.5.b.*) Von Kluge appealed to Hitler to show himself great enough to put an end to the unspeakable sacrifices and suffering of his people by bringing the lost war to a speedy conclusion. Partly perhaps to make his plea more persuasive, but with nothing else to gain by such "Byzantinist" sycophancy, he hailed Hitler still as his *Führer* to whom he said he had always stood closer than Hitler himself had perhaps realized. To him the man whom Schramm calls the unteachable was still a hero who might yet work one of the miracles he was still promising.

To former Colonel General Jodl, former chief of staff of the *Wehrmacht* command staff, also in the face of death but in his case under sentence of the war criminal court at Nuremberg, years later, Hitler was still a hero. He might have chosen to die in battle, but, physically unable to do that, had chosen not the easier form of death but the more certain. Like all historic heroes, he had let himself be buried in the ruins of his *Reich* and of his hopes. "Let whoever will judge him," wrote Jodl, "I cannot." He might have meant that he would not.

Schramm does not hesitate to judge or to condemn Hitler most bitterly as prolonger of the war (*Verlängerer des Krieges*), devoting twenty pages of his spirited introductory commentary to this well-documented indictment. To him Hitler was never a hero. He demonstrates convincingly that Hitler was the first to realize that the war was lost, yet betrayed the people whom he misled by prolonging it. To him even the manner of Hitler's death without dignity was appropriate.

History Professor Percy Ernst Schramm of Göttingen became a nominal member of the Nazi party only in 1939 when invited to do so and when he could not well have refused and continued to hold his position in the university. As a major in the *Wehrmacht* reserve, he was from the beginning of March 1943 a logical successor to Helmut Greiner as senior keeper of the war diary of the command staff of the *Wehrmacht*, a task for which the professional soldiers preferred a professional historian. He was never a good enough Nazi or willing to dissimulate enough to be quite free from Nazi suspicion. At least once, following the execution of his wife's sister Elizabeth von Thadden under the well-founded accusation of opposition to the regime, a letter accusing both Schramm and his wife reached Jodl's desk, where Jodl for some reason let it lie. Schramm was therefore available as a defense witness for him at Nuremberg, but there is nothing here to indicate that he was ever a believer in National Socialism or a supporter of it.

The preservation of the war diary on his own responsibility in defiance or evasion of Hitler's order to destroy everything was an act of insubordination on the part of Major Schramm but a service to history on the part of Professor Schramm, who with the help of three former members of his seminar (Jacobsen, Hillgruber, and Hubatsch, one volume each) has here made a monumental contribution to the historiography of the Nazi war. He has himself edited Volume IV in two heavy half volumes, the first of the series actually to appear. It is complete with introduction, diary section, documents section, commentaries, *Wegweiser*, glossary, maps, and register of persons mentioned.

The preservation of the diary during the nightmare of dissolution of the *Wehrmacht* in 1945 is a romance in itself. One small portion of it had to be destroyed, and its destruction confirmed in a signed document for the protection of Schramm, who had to certify also that there was no other copy—of that part of it. General Greiner, Schramm's predecessor, saved his draft of the first years of the diary. Other bits found their way after the war into the Heeresarchiv. A rough draft of Schramm's hidden in an attic near Berchtesgaden was destroyed by the owners of the property when the Americans came in. Penciled notes still retained by Schramm were taken into custody by his captors who subsequently, finding them illegible, had to direct him as a prisoner of war to read them for the United States Historical Division, which then permitted him to retain a microfilm copy for his own professional use. His university, which was already

doing some quiet house cleaning before the war, was ready to reinstate him before the British occupation authorities were willing to permit it; he had long been reinstated and had served as dean of the Philosophical Faculty (L and S) before the United States Department of State brought him again as its guest to the United States.

The editor promises and presents here comparatively little to change the already established patterns of judgment concerning the conduct of the war. He credits Hitler with some capacity to make wise decisions on questions of major strategy, particularly during the earlier years of the war. Hard though it was to hang on in Russia during the terrible winter of 1941-1942, he concedes that it might have been even more disastrous to withdraw. Hitler had a remarkable memory for military statistics and details. He understood also the prime importance of political or policy objectives, even in war, and of potential repercussions at home as a consequence of admitted military defeats and evacuations.

In some ways his memory may have been too good. He had been a soldier from 1914 to 1918 and remembered very clearly the difficulty of digging in again after having been driven from a defended position, but the analogy was not perfect, and the recollections of the corporal of 1918 were an inadequate guide for the supreme field commander of a quarter of a century later; and his prestige strategy eventually failed because he could not bluff indefinitely.

Concerning the so-called *Vergeltungswaffen* or retaliation weapons, the editor reports that around 2,400 V-1 and 1,115 V-2 were shot off without significant effect other than as an additional irritant, if one except the errant one that landed near Hitler's bunker in France one day and—it is sourly suggested, not stated—caused his cancellation of a planned inspection of Rommel's forces there.

On July 15, 1944, Rommel reported that he had lost in recent weeks 97,000 men and had received only 6,000 replacements, and 225 tanks against 17 replaced. He also urged Hitler to draw without delay the necessary conclusions from this situation. Two days later his car was strafed by a low-flying Allied plane; Rommel's military career was ended in the wreckage of his vehicle while Hitler and Allied forces completed the destruction of his country. He had yet to utter, in April 1945, the crowning monstrosity: that his faltering people had deserved by their unworthiness the fate he had brought down upon them.

University of Wisconsin

CHESTER V. EASUM

TRADITION AND ENLIGHTENMENT IN THE TUSCAN ACADEMIES, 1690-1800. By *Eric W. Cochrane*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1961. Pp. xxii, 268. \$6.00.)

Mr. Cochrane's book deals with a really important and imperfectly explored period of Italian intellectual history. It is evident among historians that Tuscany was one of the main centers of the Italian Enlightenment. The practical

achievements or the religious controversies of the eighteenth-century Tuscan reformers, however, have been more largely investigated than their intellectual background. Recently, much attention has been given to the transition period from the late *seicento* to the early *settecento*, which witnessed the Italian revolt against the Counter Reformation and the rise of the Enlightenment. But these new studies have usually considered sections of the Italian Peninsula other than Tuscany. Cochrane's book is a contribution to fill these gaps, and as such it deserves sincere praise.

There are some reservations concerning method. He has given an excellent exposition of the various activities of the Tuscan academies, from poetry and linguistics to natural science and from archaeology or history to economics and politics. But he has consciously avoided connecting these activities with the intellectual, political, and religious development of Tuscany in general. One wonders whether this rigid separation is actually justified. The same men who were active in the Tuscan academies were also active in other fields. It can be misleading to single out one facet of their work from the rest. When one is never told, for example, that Benvoglianti was imprisoned by the Inquisition or Magalotti was also a keen observer of England and a polemicist against Spinoza, one can believe them more harmless or less historically relevant than they were. When one has never been told that a bitter anticurial fight was the background of much eighteenth-century intellectual life in Tuscany, one gets a quite imperfect view of many academic activities. On the other hand, it is rather artificial to put people of different times and kinds together because they had had something to do with academies. No student of American history would put Woodrow Wilson and Dwight Eisenhower in the same historical basket because both had something to do with Presbyterianism. It is only fair to say, however, that Cochrane has done first-class work as far as erudite investigation is concerned. He has explored a number of half-forgotten archives or collections of printed materials. His mastery of Italian is perfect, and he has knowledge of a tremendously large bibliography. The most exacting reviewer could not find mistakes in his pages, except for some few unimportant details. Cochrane has shown an admirable tenacity and skill in his difficult and sometimes tiresome work. All future students of this period will be grateful to him for his painstaking labor.

*University of Florence*

GIORGIO SPINI

SIEDLUNG UND VERFASSUNG DER SLAWEN ZWISCHEN ELBE, SAALE UND ODER. Edited by *Herbert Ludat*. (Giessen: Wilhelm Schmitz Verlag. 1960. Pp. 226. DM 36.)

HISTORIANS are often somewhat archaic. There can be few among them who do not now regret the limitations some of their masters put upon the study of history. Think of what these masters used to say about the sociologists! This book

is an attempt to escape from such archaism. A group of German scholars interested in the early expansion of the Slavs westward, and in their settlement between the Elbe-Saale and Oder, gathered together in April 1957 at Göttingen to find out whether pooling the results of their specialized studies would yield any new insights into the largely neglected movement of the Slavic peoples westward in the early Middle Ages. Among the group were historians, archaeologists, and linguistic experts interested especially in place names. Their meeting was "the first of its kind" in Germany.

If we consider the general direction of Germano-Slavic studies, their very approach was novel. American scholars are familiar with the notion of a Germanic *Drang nach Osten* carrying the Christian Latin civilization of the West, in a special form, to the pagan Slavic peoples of East Central Europe. They have been introduced to such records of this expansion as the chronicles of Helmold of Bosau and Henry of Livonia. But how the Slavs got to the Elbe-Saale frontier, not to mention the valley of the Main, has not been so much their concern. Nor has it been much the concern of European historians. A considerable service, therefore, to the student hungry for some historical elucidation of the problems of his day, could be rendered by a simple narrative of the early stages of the Slavic *Drang nach Westen*. Such a narrative would rise above the ponderous scholarly monograph, courageously look beyond the frustrating mass of specialized detail, and dare to try to say from where, and in what manner, Slavic peoples left their homes in Eastern Europe to journey to the West, settle down, cultivate the soil, cut down the forest, form political and religious societies, and thus lure the Germanic West to come in and take over their rude beginnings of civilized life.

The present collection of papers given at the *Göttinger Arbeitstagung* aims to lay the methodological basis for some such clarifying and simple narrative by dealing, from the viewpoint of its various specialists, with the settlements of Abodrites, Liutizi, and Sorbs in the area between the Elbe-Saale and the Oder. The actual migration of these peoples westward the papers do not try to trace, although they emphasize that the Sorbs, unlike the Abodrites, came from Bohemia. What interests them is the actual character of the settlement, cutting down the forest, and the building of the forts either to defend land already taken or to serve as administrative centers for a newly opened frontier region. The general picture they give, despite all local variations, is of the division of large Slavic federations into smaller groups as they broke the sod in widely different soils. These groups of subtribes were often led by little kings (*reguli*) who settled down in their forts, surrounded by *primores* and the Slavic equivalent of the comitatus. Subsequently the earlier burgs were brought together by the more important dynasties now seated in what may be called larger territorial burgs (Mecklenburg, Ratzeburg), or were grouped around pagan temples (Rethra, Arkona) preserving the institution of a controlling popular assembly. The authors work out this gen-



eral picture with extraordinary thoroughness in a heavy language. They have fortunately put their results on a series of eighteen remarkable maps. Anyone who is interested in the early movement of the Slavs toward, and their settlement in, the West will be obliged with all due respect and gratitude, albeit with much anguish, to read this book.

*Brandeis University*

EDGAR N. JOHNSON

INDEPENDENT EASTERN EUROPE: A HISTORY. By *C. A. Macartney* and *A. W. Palmer*. (New York: St Martin's Press. 1962. Pp. vii, 499. \$12.00.)

THIS excellent volume is the best that exists on the fourteen small states that separated Germany and the Soviet Union in the interwar period. It is well documented, although there is a rather irritating and unique use of *op. cit.*, a citation hard to check back on since the bibliography is not listed alphabetically. It is also employed at times when several books by the same author have been mentioned. A list of abbreviations used in the notes would have been helpful. It may also be well to mention for American readers that Macartney's excellent two-volume study *A History of Hungary, 1929-1945* (1956-57), in the original British edition is called *October Fifteenth: A History of Modern Hungary, 1929-1945*, and in the present volume is always cited as *October Fifteenth*. Despite these minor complaints the notes with their many references to primary sources, monographs, and journal articles, and the excellent critical bibliography, arranged according to chapter, are a most commendable feature of the study.

The volume is mainly political history, backed by necessary economic excursions, with little reference to religious or other cultural matters. Whereas the countries of the Danube Basin receive fullest treatment, those farthest north, Finland and the Baltic States, and those farthest south, Greece and Turkey, receive somewhat more summary treatment. Outstanding are the opening chapters which do not offer much new factual material, but give a clear, brief historical survey through World War I and the peace settlement. It might be noted that in 1904, not 1907, Serbia and Bulgaria "concluded a far-reaching Treaty of Friendship," and it is hardly correct to say that in May 1919 "the British, French and Americans committed the extraordinary folly of allowing Greece to take over the share of Asia Minor promised to Russia. . . ." Folly it may have been, but the allotted Greek and Russian territories were quite different.

Having established the new Eastern Europe, the authors divide their study into predepression and postdepression eras. For the first period there are excellent chapters on internal and foreign affairs, with first of all the presentation of a general pattern and then a discussion of events in each country. The postdepression era is a year-by-year account, which has its virtues, but also tends to become a mere recital of events in each of the countries. If a shift in cabinet or the conclusion of a nonaggression pact is omitted, it will take research to discover it.

The chapters are divided into sections; had the authors tried to give the sections titles instead of merely separating them by asterisks, certainly the over-all organization and synthesis would have been improved.

The volume is full of information: the accounts of *Anschluss*, the Munich crisis, the seizure of Prague, and the diplomacy preceding Hitler's Balkan campaign deserve special mention, as does the treatment of the nationality question throughout the volume. More critical of Czechoslovakia than some writers, the authors' tone is scholarly and objective. The policies of the great powers, above all those of Italy and Germany, in their relation to Eastern Europe are amply treated. The authors show clearly that the small powers were not mere pawns, but did their full share of intriguing to obtain their ends. It is worth noting "that when the outside attacks came, in and after 1938, against successive states of Eastern Europe, not only did no single other East European state, on any occasion, help that attacked, but many of them sympathised with and abetted the attackers." Among many other virtues, this volume depicts the "sympathising" and "abetting" in some detail.

Bowdoin College

E. C. HELMREICH

A HISTORY OF RUSSIA. By *Jesse D. Clarkson*. (New York: Random House. 1961. Pp. xviii, 875. Trade \$10.00, text \$7.50.)

PROFESSOR Jesse D. Clarkson's *History of Russia* is a huge and rich volume. Its thirty-seven chapters begin with "perspectives," geography and prehistory, and end with the Soviet reaction to President Kennedy. Its 857 pages include, in addition to the text, notes and suggestions for further reading after each chapter and a bibliography, a chronology, three appendixes of princes, tsars, and Politburo members, and an index at the end of the volume. There are also maps and illustrations. In line with the now common distribution of material, a hundred pages carry the narrative up to Ivan the Terrible, and another hundred pages, even somewhat less, to Peter the Great, while the Russian Empire occupies over two hundred pages, and the Soviet Union almost three hundred. Yet the early period is not treated in a perfunctory manner, for Clarkson has strong views about it, as about the rest of Russian history, and presents these views, again as usual, with considerable force.

The author believes in the primacy of economic and social factors and in the overwhelming continuity of history. Except for the convenient subdivision into chapters, and subtopics within chapters, he attempts no further grouping, notably no classification into "parts" or periods. Peter the Great is treated as a secondary and generally disruptive influence on the evolution of Russia. (In this, as in certain other instances, the author apparently enjoys "debunking.") Even the year 1917, to which Clarkson pays much attention, does not stand out as a great divide. Stalin, too, we learn, responded to the impersonal forces rather than molded them:

"it is fairly obvious that Stalin was not a madman and that it was not only Stalin's personal position that was at stake in the 1930's." The author has strong, independent, and often unorthodox opinions on many smaller matters as well as on the large ones, and he is not afraid to state his opinions in full and to discuss at length those topics which interest him. To select an extreme case, Clarkson repeatedly returns to the strange coexistence of the Communist Soviet state and the Russian church: his treatment includes a series of invalid comparisons with tsarist days and even an enigmatic entry in the "Chronology," under 1939, "League of Militant Godless denounces bourgeois atheism," surely misleading without further explanation.

While the volume contains slips and mistakes inevitable in a work of such size and scope, they are neither numerous nor extreme. More serious are some instances of omission and evaluation. For example, Clarkson totally disregards icon painting, although he devotes considerable attention to music and even to rather worthless Soviet writing; similarly, he neglects the Silver Age of Russian literature, which he considers to have been a period of decline (incidentally, on page 574 he lists Remizov as a poet); or, to select an illustration from a different field, he gives an inadequate and incorrect picture of the strategy on the eastern front in World War II.

On the whole, however, the merits of Clarkson's work are much more important than its failings. The author offers an intelligent, learned, and rich narrative with a fine use of primary sources. Above all, he gives us his own account of the evolution of Russia, not a mere compendium. That account will both inform and stimulate students of Russian history—and indeed their teachers.

*University of California, Berkeley*

NICHOLAS V. RIASANOVSKY

COMMUNIST HISTORY: ITS THEORY AND PRACTICE. Readings selected, translated and discussed by *Marin Pundeff*. (Rev. ed.; [Northridge, Calif.: the Author. 1962.] Pp. vii, 361.)

THIS collection of readings on Communist historiography will be of primary value to students being introduced to the subject. Originally prepared for collateral use in courses on the history of Russia, it consists essentially of statements of basic Marxist-Leninist doctrine, excerpts from the writings of Soviet leaders and historians bearing on historiographical problems, and the more important governmental party decrees regulating the activity of the Soviet historical guild.

On the whole, the selections are well chosen. The volume opens with representative samples of the views of Marx, Engels, Plekhanov, and Lenin on the meaning and tasks of history. Moving into the Soviet period, it stresses the key role of Pokrovski in shaping the categories of the first generation of Marxist historians. It is particularly illuminating on the turning point in Soviet historiography during the early and mid-thirties when Stalin took over direction of the historical

front and Pokrovski's abstract class schematism was repudiated in favor of civic history and the cult of Stalinism. Here the reader will find a useful compendium of relevant Stalinist decrees and directives as well as some melancholy examples of Stalinist sycophancy as practiced by Pankratova and other leading historians of the day.

The post-Stalinist period is less well covered. There are extensive extracts from Khrushchev's secret speech at the Twentieth Party Congress, but the ferment and turmoil which it ignited in historical circles largely go unregistered, except in the form of the Central Committee decree of March 9, 1957, which closed the debate. While Pundeff devotes considerable attention to the teaching of history in the schools, he rather neglects the new directions of Soviet historical research since Stalin's death.

A special section of the volume is reserved for satellite historiography as reflected in Bulgaria and East Germany, and there are also some passages from Mao, Enver Hoxha, and the Program of the League of the Communists of Yugoslavia. Unfortunately, all these are so brief and scrappy as hardly to serve a useful purpose, and one misses the far more exciting and challenging discussions of Marxist historiography which erupted in Poland after October 1956.

The volume concludes with an extract from Orwell's 1984, H. Trevor Roper's critique of "Marxism and the Study of History," and an interesting article by the author on "History in Soviet Education since 1958." While each of these selections holds intrinsic interest, the effect is of a miscellaneous grab bag, and the volume might have benefited greatly had Pundeff provided either a long introduction or conclusion in which the main threads of Soviet historiography were brought together in more systematic form. As it is, the student who uses this collection would be well advised to supplement it with some more general treatment such as Anatole G. Mazour's *Modern Russian Historiography* or Konstantin F. Shteppa's *Russian Historians and the Soviet State*.

What the author has provided in this volume are some excellent illustrations of the philosophical assumptions and political imperatives that have guided the work of Soviet historians since the Revolution. Those who are interested in a record of their work or an appraisal of their substantive contributions will have to look elsewhere.

*Harvard University*

MERLE FAINSD

THE SOVIET DESIGN FOR A WORLD STATE. By *Elliot R. Goodman*.

With a foreword by *Philip E. Mosely*. [Studies of the Russian Institute, Columbia University.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1960. Pp. xviii, 512. \$6.75.)

MR. Goodman has written a disturbing book, disturbing not so much for what he says as for how he says it. His thesis is simple and convincing. He argues that

the Soviet government is and always has been dedicated to the long-range goal of a world-wide socialist state in which the Russians will (by default, as it were) play the dominant role. He demonstrates his point partly by generous quotations from the writings of Marxist and Communist leaders, and partly by surveying the record of Soviet history since 1917. Russian nationalism, the ideal of "peaceful coexistence," the theory and practice of federalism—these and many other apparent counterforces he shows to be mere tactical devices used by the Soviet leaders to achieve their ultimate aim. The evidence is carefully assembled and in certain places quite overwhelming.

It is not quite clear, however, why he has felt it necessary to pursue his point with such single-minded determination. That socialism is an international creed, and that its ultimate aim is the establishment of a world-wide "classless" state, is generally acknowledged by Communist as well as non-Communist theoreticians and may be said to represent a truism except on the lowest propaganda level. As a problem in itself, it is of relatively little interest. What is more interesting is the manner in which this long-range goal (one which, it may be added, modern secular religions share with the older, theistic ones) must adjust itself to the exigencies of life, and what relationship establishes itself between ideal and reality. On such questions, unfortunately, Goodman provides little guidance. His eyes are riveted on what he calls the Soviet "grand design," and whenever he confronts genuine problems (for example, that posed by minority nationalism or Marr's linguistic theories) his main concern is with providing answers fitting neatly his general thesis.

The combination of meticulous research and accurate rendition of facts with impassioned political pamphleteering is a sad symptom of an unhealthy encroachment of politics on scholarship. Goodman's formal conclusions reveal his primary concern: titled "The Response of the West," they are an impassioned plea for Western unity, for a "rejuvenation of the will to live," for "new strength and sense of purpose," for an alliance more effective than NATO. Commendable as these sentiments are in themselves, they in no way ensue from the evidence presented in the main body of the book. Surely it ought to be possible to separate, for purposes of scholarly investigation, one's emotions from the materials he sets himself to investigate. It makes for better scholarship as well as politics.

*Harvard University*

RICHARD PIPES

RUSSIAN HISTORIANS AND THE SOVIET STATE. By *Konstantin F. Shteppa*. (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1962. Pp. 437. \$10.00.)

THE posthumous publication of Shteppa's study of the relationship between historical scholarship and the Marxist state in Russia is an appropriate ending to the work of a historian who lived this relationship and reflected it in his career.

Born in the Ukraine in 1896 and descended from German settlers, Shteppa was educated under both the tsarist and the Soviet regimes and became professor of ancient and medieval history at the University of Kiev in 1930. After his arrest during the purges, he became progressively alienated from the regime and his milieu. For a while under the Germans he was rector of the university, and in 1943 he left his native land, eventually migrating to the United States where he worked primarily on problems of historiography in the Soviet Union until his death in 1958.

This volume has only one rival, *Rewriting Russian History* (1956), to which Shteppa contributed. The present work examines "historical scholarship in the service of the regime" and the effects of the regime's changing policies on it from 1917 to June 1957, with an appendix on changes up to August 1960. While the forty-year span examined has an essential unity created by the unrelenting demand for *partiinost* (devotion and service to the party) from all scholarship, there was in it a succession of policy makers with sufficiently important fluctuations of policies to require periodization. Like Soviet historians currently debating the matter, Shteppa attempted to come to grips with the problem of periodizing the history of Soviet historical scholarship, but his proposals, no less than theirs, are ambiguous and inconsistent. He begins by formulating four periods: 1917-1928, 1928-1934, 1934-1941, and "the war and postwar period." In the organization of the work the first three periods are observed, but the fourth is divided into "War and Aftermath, 1941-1953," and "The Latest Phase." Having applied this periodization, Shteppa says that "as early as 1929" a new trend leading to the liquidation of Pokrovski's school became evident and that "this stage was launched by Stalin's letter to . . . *Proletarian Revolution*" in 1931. Greater precision is obviously desirable.

In style, the work has not been written with economy in mind; the entire study would have benefited from compression to perhaps two-thirds its size. Most of the author's oversights and errors appear to have resulted from the fact that, as one who "was there," Shteppa has tended to work with information he had at the time he was there. An outside student of the subject would be compelled to be more thorough in his research and might achieve a more balanced treatment.

In looking at the relationship between the state and scholarship, of vital interest is the actual production which is adumbrated in the appendix and which Shteppa has chosen not to discuss. In the common preoccupation with the effect of politics on historical scholarship in Marxist countries one often forgets that the massive intervention of the state has two important sides. One is dictation of dogmas and purposes to historians. The other is provision of ample means and facilities for intensified production. Along with the incubus of politics, one observes a significant rise in quantity of historical work; to take periodicals as an example, *Voprosy istorii* (which shares the field with a dozen major journals) is annually twice the size of the *AHR*. No great history is being written nor great

historians produced, but much work is done, and a general effort is generated to write anew the entire history of mankind and to prepare rigorously for encounters with "bourgeois" historians in international arenas. In an assessment of the interrelationship between the Marxist state and historical scholarship, neglect of the role of the state in fostering and financing historical work is unrealistic and hazardous.

*San Fernando Valley State College*

MARIN PUNDEFF

## Near East

ISLAM AND THE INTEGRATION OF SOCIETY. By *W. Montgomery Watt*. (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press. 1961. Pp. ix, 293. \$6.50.)

THE purpose of this book is to study the achievement of Islam in integrating heterogeneous peoples into a strongly felt brotherhood and to try to find general principles which account for the achievement. The author's previous work has been characterized by partisans of both the political Right and Left as having a Marxist tendency. Noting this latter point, Mr. Watt admits that Marxist ideation first suggested to him his point of departure. He also acknowledges a debt to Karl Mannheim, and especially his concept of "ideology." Watt states that he has tried "to write something which will be of interest to both orientalists and sociologists."

The author's starting point is the importance of economic change in producing social change such as that which, given the existing Arabian social tradition, "caused" Islam to come about. He then proceeds to a theoretical discussion of the role of ideation, or the "idea system," with special reference to Mohammed and the Assassins. This role he finds, on the basis of the Islamic examples, is first to articulate the new ends that a changing society is beginning to pursue, and, once the idea system has been generally accepted, to direct subsequent action. The book then discusses, in its longest and most important chapter, Islamic society's will to unity and disunity, using the following historical matters as the raw material: the unification of Arabia, the Kharijite and Shiite movements, the incorporation of the Persians into Islamic society, and the Islamization of West Africa. The final chapters discuss the integration of specific aspects of Moslem life: political life (Mohammed's career; the caliphate), mores (assimilation of tribal and non-Arab mores; Sharia), intellectual life (Koran; assimilation of Greek thought), and psyche (Islam's attitude toward Christianity; "ideology").

There are two broad aspects to consider in criticizing this work. First, as sociology, this nonsociologist, encouraged by a sociologist colleague, doubts that it has made much contribution. For example, the conclusion on the role of economic and social factors is that, "while economic change is a basic determinant of



the situation in which social change occurs (another basic determinant being the existing social tradition), these economic and traditional factors do not completely determine the social response, since variations are possible through differences in intellectual and imaginative capacity."

Second, as history of the Moslems written with painstaking care for the economic and sociological backgrounds of events, the work is always coherent and at some points very exciting. The merely coherent parts are those with which readers of Watt's previous books, especially *Muhammad at Mecca* and *Muhammad at Medina*, are already familiar. The exciting parts are those where he applies his analysis to new events, especially the rise of the Kharijites and the Shiites which are made meaningful for the first time.

As a result of the works of men like Hamilton Gibb, Bernard Lewis, Gustave von Grunebaum, and Watt, the student can now get a real idea of the dynamics of Islamic society and history in place of the static slides produced by an older generation which told us what but not why or how.

Princeton University

R. BAYLY WINDER

## Asia and the East

GENERATION OF GIANTS: THE STORY OF THE JESUITS IN CHINA IN THE LAST DECADES OF THE MING DYNASTY. By *George H. Dunne, S.J.* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 1962. Pp. 389. \$5.75.)

FATHER Dunne only partially reveals the tone of his book in his foreword: "I hope this book qualifies as a scholarly work. At the same time I trust that it successfully avoids the more deadly features sometimes associated with that phrase. I have aimed at interesting not only the scholar, but the average reader of intelligence who likes a good story. This is a good story. I hope I have told it well."

The story is that of Matteo Ricci, his companions, and their first generation of followers, from Ricci's arrival in China in 1582 to the death of Adam Schall in 1666, well into the Ch'ing dynasty. It is, to be sure, a fascinating story, and Dunne succeeds in telling it vividly. This chapter of Jesuit history is also one of the most important cases of intercultural relations in human history, significant both as an episode in history and for its theoretical and general implications. An extensive scholarly literature relevant to it already exists, but the subject fully merits a careful re-examination. Dunne's qualifications for this task appear to be excellent, for he is a scholarly Jesuit who has served in China, and the notes in this volume indicate that he has been working on the subject of this book at least since 1942.

One must conclude rather regretfully that while he indeed "successfully avoids the more deadly features" of scholarship, he has also skirted much of his responsi-

bility to build thoroughly on and add to the sum of knowledge; hence this book does not really qualify as a scholarly work. For while the author has drawn widely and cleverly on obscure records in Rome (such as unpublished Jesuit archives) and out-of-the-way contemporary missionary records, there is no evidence that he has made direct use of any Chinese sources, and he has ignored much recent scholarship. The full story of this episode in history lacks both substance and perspective as long as the rich Chinese records are largely ignored, as in this case. More serious even, Dunne's scholarship is called into question when he cites early, incomplete, and unreliable references to and translations from Chinese documents without any attempt to verify them or supplement them by checking the original sources. This he does repeatedly. Moreover, and partly because of this, the inner workings of the Chinese state are reduced to simplicities of "good" liberal-minded Chinese scholars and their Jesuit friends against the "bad" eunuchs and their unscrupulous cohorts. This will satisfy no historian of China.

Undoubtedly in Dunne's mind, and inescapably in the consciousness of the reader, the most important aspect of this book is its long and detailed argument for the correctness of the Jesuit strategy in China. The historical account serves but as a skeleton on which to hang this argument, which can be summed up as a broad-minded justification of cultural accommodation, and a denunciation of narrower "Europeanism," nationalisms, and other cultural and ideological parochialisms. With vigor, relish, and considerable skill, the author lays bare the inadequacies of his coreligionists in the mendicant orders of Ricci's time and since, and by clear implication, all those who still today cannot distinguish between the superficial cultural accretions to the revealed Truth, and its original essentials. It is useful to have this argument so well illustrated by reference to so interesting a story as that of the Jesuits in China. The full theoretical implications are never worked out, however, perhaps because they would lead to the opinion that the revealed Truth, universal in Dunne's mind, is itself but the finite product of one narrow cultural tradition. Those former Jesuits and other missionaries in China who themselves came to such a conclusion, needless to say, are not discussed here.

*Princeton University*

FREDERICK W. MOTE

THE INDIAN MIDDLE CLASSES: THEIR GROWTH IN MODERN TIMES. By *B. B. Misra*. [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1961. Pp. viii, 438. \$7.20.)

DR. Misra's thesis is that after 1833 the growth of the Indian middle classes stemmed from certain conditions: "the mild and constitutional character of Government and the rule of law, the security of private property and the defined rights of agricultural classes, a national system of education and a period of

continual peace, an economy of *laissez-faire* and a liberal policy of employment and social reform." From Calcutta, and later from the other presidency towns, European ideas and institutions filtered downward and outward with Christian missionaries, free merchants, and European planters acting as vectors. The author shows how the relationship between government and business which prevailed in England was, under the Company's rule, transplanted to India, stimulating a new Indian commercial class which arose in junior partnership with European firms. The revenue laws of the British set in motion a certain social mobility as land became a commodity, and people with money could buy social position by purchasing landed estates. The introduction of Western science and technology created another middle class who acted as an agency of these forces. But, according to Misra, it was the Western-educated professional classes—the lawyers, public servants, doctors, teachers, writers, and scholars—who became the spearhead of the Indian middle classes. The growth of this professional class was accelerated significantly after the establishment of the universities in 1857. Even though coming from different castes, the professionals developed a common interest, a common language, and a common behavior pattern, while the landed, the industrial, and the commercial middle classes continued to have an outlook that was parochial rather than national.

The author has explored an enormous range of materials. Most of the trends that he indicates are not, however, newly discovered. Starting with his thesis as a center, Misra establishes each separate category of the middle class in a sort of radial pattern. The result is somewhat reminiscent of Stephen Leacock's horseman who galloped off in all directions. A more integrated organization would be helpful, and some may think that a strictly chronological treatment would be better. Misra's presentation is characterized by an attention to detail which speaks of the author's great diligence. We learn much about the cotton and coal industries, the intricacies of the practice of law, and the organization of industry and commerce, but somehow the main concern often disappears in the discussion. Too rarely does the author pause to consider the effect on the middle classes of the particular economic or political phenomenon he happens to be describing.

This is respectable history, despite its weaknesses. One can cite an occasional brilliant insight, for example, how the Indian National Congress of 1886 expressed concern over agricultural distress and universal poverty, then ignored the problem of the zamindars and moneylenders to concentrate on representative institutions. Yet one misses an illumination which lends clarity to the general picture. Perhaps added discussion of the interstices between the elements of the middle class would have given the volume more cohesiveness. One would not hesitate to recommend this volume to his students; still, the definitive work on the Indian middle classes is yet to be written.

*Los Angeles Valley College*

MARK NAIDIS

JAPANESE STUDIES ON JAPAN AND THE FAR EAST: A SHORT BIOGRAPHICAL AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION. Prepared by *Ssu-Yü Teng et al.* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press; distrib. by Oxford University Press, New York. 1961. Pp. x, 485. \$12.00.)

THE title and subtitle of this volume, though already long, should perhaps be elongated further to clarify its coverage. It might read "A List of Books and Articles on Japan and the Far East Published since 1942 by Some 760 Japanese Scholars in the Various Fields of the Humanities and Social Sciences, Whose Authors Are Still Living and Active in Research, including Notes on the Educational Background and Current Research Interests of the Authors."

The compilers may, of course, be forgiven for avoiding such an unwieldy title and preferring to explain these matters in the introduction, especially since, even if the elongated title were used, further clarification would still be necessary. In short the user of this volume is strongly urged to study the introduction very carefully; otherwise he will be at a loss to understand why certain very important works and authors are omitted from a collection that has space for hundreds of minor items.

The general arrangement is by subject field, of which there are nineteen in all, including "Far Eastern Archaeology," "Anthropology and Ethnology," "Legal Institutions," "Politics and Governments," "Economics and Economic Development," "Educational Development," "International Relations," "Arts," "Linguistics," "Japanese History" (with five subdivisions), "Japanese Literature" (with five subdivisions), "Chinese History" (with nine subdivisions), "Chinese Literature" (with two subdivisions), "Japanese Bibliography," "Chinese Bibliography," "Korean Studies," "Buddhism in the Far East," and so on. Under these subject fields the listing is by author, in Roman alphabetical order, with all his important works (since 1942) placed together. Most of the authors included, but not all, are associated with "Twenty Famous [Japanese] Universities," whose names and faculty members are listed in the appendix. Titles of works cited are given in characters, Romaji and English translation, characters for authors' names are included, a notation is made as to whether an English-language summary of a given item is available, and a comprehensive subject-author index is appended at the end of the volume.

These are very helpful, but a few criticisms would seem to be in order. Categorizing each author under a subject field heading and then listing all his entries there produce anomalies in those cases where the author has published in more than one field. The arrangement works better, however, with Japanese scholars, who specialize to a remarkable degree, than it would with Western scholars. More serious is the omission of many important scholars. The compilers say that they have purposely omitted a number of "senior authorities" because "they are too old to be bothered by Western visitors" or because "they no

longer need any introduction." Perhaps Royama Masamichi, Kimura Takeyasu, Horie Yasuzo, Ayusawa Iwao, Kurihara Ken, Sakurai Yoshiyuki, and Ukai Nobushige (all omitted) would fall in the latter category for they were all lively and helpful to me, but it is hard to explain the omission of very active younger men like Hosoya Chihiro and Shibata Tokue, especially since their universities are listed. Also, it is curious to see the venerable and aged Watanabe Ikujiro included, with but two articles under his name and no listing of his many standard studies, which unfortunately were published before 1942.

No bibliography, especially in the Far Eastern field, however, is perfect, and remembering that it is mainly an attempt to introduce Westerners to the postwar writings of nearly eight hundred Japanese scholars, selected on the principle of probable availability for assistance to Western researchers on the Far East, one finds this a most welcome compilation. Indeed I would recommend that all such researchers visiting Japan take a copy along.

*University of Pennsylvania*

HILARY CONROY

## Americas

CABOT TO CARTIER: SOURCES FOR A HISTORICAL ETHNOGRAPHY OF NORTHEASTERN NORTH AMERICA, 1497-1550. By *Bernard G. Hoffman*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1961. Pp. xii, 287. \$8.00.)

HOFFMAN's work has considerable value and would have had more if he had definitely made up his mind on what he intended to do. From the title, the book should deal with anthropology and does to some extent, but the anthropological part is chiefly confined to the last chapter and the conclusion. Together these cover 19 of the book's 215 pages, and they say something about the geographical distribution and living habits of the Algonquins and St. Lawrence Iroquois of eastern Canada before Cartier. The rest of the work is concerned with other matters, the Indians being permitted to peep only occasionally out of the pages of old narratives.

During most of Hoffman's chapters it is hard to keep just Canada and the Northeast primarily in mind, as they form a story of exploration, mostly by sea, and an evaluation of map making in the first decades of Iberian contact with America. The treatment of exploration is rather conventional; the cartographical examination is highly original and turns out, whether stipulated or not, to be the major theme of Hoffman's book. The author classifies the first maps of the Western Hemisphere by types, always with the understanding that the amount of such evidence that has perished is obviously greater than the amount that has survived. The study of these maps is thorough, with place names and legends from them often being listed separately in the text. Approximately sixty such maps are reproduced, either completely or in part, in black-and-white sketches. Henry Harrisse

made his own classifications of many of the same maps in *The Discovery of North America* in 1892, and the Hoffman cartographical groupings are a significant advance.

Much of the attention the author gives to maritime exploration seems unnecessary, as most of the discovery is hardly germane to Northeastern North America. Amerigo Vespucci could well have been omitted, but, as he is included, he might have been approached through better authorities. Frederick J. Pohl, despite his undeniable achievements, is not the fountainhead on Amerigo, nor is George Tylor Northrup who translated the Vespucci letters in 1916. Thomaz Oscar Marcondes de Souza, whose name is slightly misspelled in the bibliography, is a much better scholar, but he would probably have preferred that his revised second edition on Vespucci be cited rather than the first. Alberto Magnaghi is never mentioned, and Roberto Levillier, though his work appears in the bibliography, seems to have been ignored.

In dealing with the Cabots and Verrazano, the opinions of Roberto Almagià would have been valuable. It is not certain that such cartographers as the maker of the Cantino map thought Cuba was an island simply because their small information compelled them to bring it to an end somewhere near its actual western limit. Also, Hoffman's declaration that Pinzón and Solís circumnavigated Cuba in 1506 is not convincing. Las Casas, upon whom he bases his authority for such a statement, does not say they sailed around the island. Las Casas later ascribes the first circumnavigation to Sebastián de Ocampo in 1509, a date that should probably be changed to 1508.

Despite these criticisms of details and the misleading subtitle, this book will be definitely useful. If it is not a source for historical ethnography, it is at least a cartographical source for the discovery of Canada.

*University of Illinois*

CHARLES E. NOWELL

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF AMERICAN HISTORY. Edited by *John Higham*. [Harper Torchbooks, The Academy Library.] (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1962. Pp. 244. \$1.50.) [Cloth edition published by Humanities Press, New York, 1962. \$6.50.]

This book consists of ten tidy, instructive essays by as many sensible, expert contributors: Richard Schlatter, "The Puritan Strain"; Wesley Frank Craven, "The Revolutionary Era"; Earl Pomeroy, "The Changing West"; John William Ward, "The Age of the Common Man"; Don E. Fehrenbacher, "Disunion and Reunion"; Rowland Berthoff, "The Working Class"; William Miller, "The Realm of Wealth"; Arthur Mann, "The Progressive Tradition"; Ernest R. May, "Emergence to World Power"; David M. Potter, "The Quest for the National Character." With one exception, these contributions are directed to assessments of recent historical literature on the subjects under consideration. Taken together, the essays

reveal, as the editor notes in an able introduction obviously written a posteriori, that the reconstruction of American history is "vigorously underway."

American history is not, however, steaming as before, with Turner, Beard, and Parrington sharing the watch, but is embarked instead on varying courses leading toward undetermined destinations. Criticism and rejection of determinism have particularly marked the writings of the last two decades, as Professor Higham and his associates demonstrate. With the accompanying loss of consensus, there has naturally developed a diversity of interpretation. Three general conditions have accounted for the rejection of older formulas and the construction of their successors. First, the discovery of new data has destroyed or damaged influential theses, like some of those of Beard, and has also permitted historians to put down a fuller and more accurate description of the past, particularly the recent past. (This last achievement, significant especially for the record of American diplomacy, has provoked May, alone of the contributors, to call for a Rankean renaissance.) Second, and most obviously, history, like all efforts of the mind, has reflected the tensions of the time. Recent revisionism has invoked, among other things, a conscious or inadvertent search for a past and for past values relevant to and usable in the context of the ambiguous present. To most of the contributors, the products of that search have seemed to manifest a new conservatism, which some of them lament. Finally, the writing of history, as the contributors imply more often than they say, has drawn fruitfully upon other disciplines. Most successfully, intellectual history has utilized some of the techniques of literary criticism. In other fields, the behavioral sciences, psychology and cultural anthropology particularly, have made a mark, though quantitative methods have not yet had their deserved impact.

While this volume suffers from constrictions of space which preclude discussion of some important topics, and while the book suffers much more from as poor a job of printing as its publisher has ever undertaken, the editor and his associates have made it in other respects a careful, solid work that should prove most useful to beginning graduate students. It may also spur more experienced historians to try to answer the questions, to try to provide the needed new syntheses that the contributors call to the attention of the profession. To those ends, and perhaps best of all, in the book's last essay, which is a substantive rather than a bibliographical study, Potter, with characteristic insight, offers a model of imaginative scholarship.

*Yale University*

JOHN MORTON BLUM

THE GENTLE PURITAN: A LIFE OF EZRA STILES, 1727-1795. By Edmund S. Morgan. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture. 1962. Pp. ix, 490. \$10.00.)

PROFESSOR Morgan contributes not merely a biography but an indispensable



study of New England's intellectual history from 1740 to Stiles's death in 1795. While citations from Stiles have not been infrequent, few of his voluminous writings are in print, and no one hitherto has made maximum use of his valuable commentaries. Not an outstanding public leader, except when he fought as president of Yale for enlightenment and reform in curriculum, Stiles is revealed in this book as deserving his reputation as one of America's learned men.

The book opens with a sensitive reconstruction of the moral perceptions of a Connecticut minister's son, wrestling to reconcile lofty seventeenth-century Puritan conceptions of God's purpose with the perplexing new intellectual currents of the eighteenth century. The Enlightenment was creeping in when Stiles entered Yale in 1742, and deist skepticism led Stiles into fruitful reassessment. An additional jolt was the Great Awakening. Later, Stiles's long pastorate (1755-1776) in cosmopolitan Newport provided a broadening experience in a colony that separated church and state and welcomed all religions. The culminating challenge was the Revolution. Stiles's final sweeping vision of the democratic meaning of the Revolution, and America's mission, seems particularly to elicit the author's admiration.

A moderate Congregationalist, Stiles showed capacity for growth. Eschewing politics, not cast in the heroic mold, Stiles was a lover of liberty. As early as 1749 he had moved far beyond the Puritan position of John Winthrop's "Little Speech." Through friendship with Newport Jews, he began serious study of Hebrew learning. Interested in American Indians, he developed a population theory to account for their decline and corrected inaccurate historians who presupposed various tribes were exterminated in Indian wars. He approved the Jesuit policy in Paraguay and John Sargeant's similar project with Stockbridge Indians, but Stiles retained the European prejudice that Indian advance could come only by assimilation of white Christian civilization. Stiles's range of social sympathies was relatively broad and continued to broaden. His clergyman-father, owner of two slaves, preached in behalf of slavery but against cruelty. Ezra, the son, himself owned a slave and only at last freed him and began to urge measures to aid Negroes when the Revolution enlarged his views of liberty.

Although Professor Gipson raises doubts about the sincerity of some of the colonial arguments for liberty, no one who reads Stiles will doubt his sincerity. He moved slowly, reluctant to approve violence, but he reached his final revolutionary fervor by reasoned progression. I am more disposed to raise doubts on another question—Stiles's retreat from his ideal of ecumenical cooperation, his condemnation of Episcopalians, his anger at Baptist demands for religious liberty during wartime, his tendency at the Revolution's end to retreat from his earlier hospitality toward equality between churches and separation of church and state. He did not denounce the Connecticut law of 1784 that favored his own church at the expense of Episcopalians, Baptists, and Methodists. One is left with an unanswerable ques-

tion. Would Stiles, had he lived longer, have acquiesced to Federalist resistance to the movement for a more democratic state constitution?

*Wesleyan University*

SAMUEL HUGH BROCKUNIER

LETTERS OF THE LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION, WITH RELATED DOCUMENTS, 1783-1854. Edited by *Donald Jackson*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1962. Pp. xxi, 728. \$10.00.)

ONE might think that the Lewis and Clark Expedition would long ago have exhausted the resources of scholarship for it has been investigated by historians, anthropologists, linguistic experts, ornithologists, medical men, and novelists. But the real depth of the subject has been brought to light in this prodigious volume by Donald Jackson, editor of the University of Illinois Press. He is in an enviable position, for only the director of such a press can now publish such a huge volume of documentary materials. Simple historians cannot be so lengthy, nor can they present a book that is essentially nothing but documentation.

This man-size volume of just under 750 pages presents 428 documents covering all aspects of the great Lewis and Clark Expedition: its authorization, planning, and outfitting; foreign reaction to it; Indian policy and diplomacy in connection with it; the natural history resulting from it; its financing; and Lewis' tragic death (with an opinion as to whether it was murder or suicide).

Although the journey was the product of many minds and was an enterprise of many men, Jackson's book has shown anew Thomas Jefferson's closeness to, his keen interest in, and his personal concern with every facet of the expedition. Not only was the famous trip a diplomatic mission to the Indians of the newly acquired Louisiana Territory (which was not even contemplated as United States land when the expedition was first authorized), but it was also a demonstration of the spirit of western expansion, soon to become manifest destiny.

Jackson's documentation brings to light much new information and many new interpretations. More than half the documents have been published before, but Jackson's greatest accomplishment lies in the fact that he has gathered and republished both published material and new, unpublished material. Realizing that the expedition had been made possible by soldiers, frontier civilians, scientists, government officials, and especially Jefferson, the author delved into many manuscript collections and archives and scraped together documentation on those men and on the men who went on the expedition, gathering new material on their later lives. Much that these men did not write is to be found in these documents.

Most exhaustive in Jackson's treatment is the gathering of all extant nonjournal materials relating to the planning and completion of the expedition. There is less material on the foreign reaction to the expedition, especially that of the Spanish and Spanish projects to intercept Lewis and Clark, but enough has been given to

present the problem; nor is there much material on the Indian delegations that Lewis and Clark sent to Washington.

In many cases Jackson edits the documents fully, giving the source of the originals where possible, but he does not cite all printed materials. The collection is chronological, beginning with Jefferson's letter to James Wilkinson, February 23, 1801, and ending with the affidavit of Patrick Gass, February 17, 1854. Most of the documentation, however, falls within the period 1803-1816. In the first appendix are many well-known and published documents pertaining to the proposed western explorations before Lewis and Clark; the originals are cited.

Jackson has accomplished a stupendous job and has performed as well as if not better than is claimed on the book's jacket. This is a magnificent achievement of searching out documentation and tracing all leads; the editing is careful and accurate with identifications and short biographical data given in the editorial notes. I find but one minor error, giving poor John Evans, the Welshman, an extra year of life. It is a well-printed book, containing a very full bibliography and a number of illustrations, but it is somewhat mistitled. It should be named "An Indispensable Volume to Accompany Any and All Editions of the Lewis and Clark Journals."

*San Diego State College*

A. P. NASATIR

AMERICAN INDIAN POLICY IN THE FORMATIVE YEARS: THE INDIAN TRADE AND INTERCOURSE ACTS, 1790-1834. By *Francis Paul Prucha*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1962. Pp. viii, 303. \$6.75.)

THIS clear, concise, and systematic account of federal Indian policy and the usually ineffective attempts to enforce it will be valuable to students of both frontier history and public administration. Beginning with an analysis of colonial and imperial precedents and the experience of the Confederation period, the author proceeds to tell of the Topsylike growth of Indian administration within the War Department and to analyze topically the development of a program for regulating trade and intercourse with the tribes. The aim of federal policy was largely to minimize conflict between whites and Indians by restricting contact between the two races. Thus traders had to be licensed and had to carry on their dealings at specified places; no one could sell or give liquor to Indians; the boundaries of the Indian country were to be clearly defined and illegal intruders removed; criminals both Indian and white were to be arrested and prosecuted to avoid individual retaliation. A more positive policy was the civilization program carried on by the government in cooperation with missionaries. The successful movement to protect the Indians by removal west of the Mississippi River demonstrated the failure of these programs. Traders' and settlers' resentment of interference with their

pursuit of land and profit provides a general explanation for the failure. More specifically, enforcement of federal Indian policy depended on soldiers, who were too few, and on local courts, which were unsympathetic. In 1834 earlier experiments were codified in a law reorganizing the Indian Department and one regulating trade and intercourse. Another bill, providing for the government of the Indian territory, failed to pass. This meant there was little hope that the new intercourse act would be better enforced than its predecessors.

A well-documented study covering so much in so few pages is bound to have some of the defects of its qualities. The author's conclusions are not surprising, and where they differ from those of other students—as in the evaluation of the Indian factory system—the differences tend to be based on hypothetical conjecture rather than on new evidence. Father Prucha makes skillful use of the records of the American Fur Company; otherwise his preoccupation with federal policy, and federal records, makes Indians, traders, and settlers appear always as objects, never as subjects. No consideration of Indian acculturation, for example, enters into the discussion of the civilization and removal program. White cruelty to Indians is attributed to “a peculiar Indian-hating mentality.” The brevity and clarity of this admirable summary are achieved at the expense of a fully contextual treatment of the subject.

*Ohio State University*

MARY E. YOUNG

THE CAUSES OF THE WAR OF 1812. By *Reginald Horsman*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1962. Pp. 345. \$6.00.)

No one is likely to take serious issue with Mr. Horsman's assertion that if England had not been at war with France, “there would have been no Orders in Council, no impressment, and, in all probability, no War of 1812.” No judicious historian, to my knowledge, has ever maintained the contrary. This final sentence of his concluding chapter does less than justice to the author's thesis, which is essentially that Britain's maritime policy—impressment and restrictions on commerce—would probably have brought war in 1812, even if there had been no Indian problem in the Northwest and no resulting agitation for the acquisition of Canada. Thus Horsman's monograph reaches a conclusion very similar to that reached by Bradford Perkins in his *Prologue to War* [see *AHR*, LXVII (July 1962), 989], a more detailed and more thorough study, especially as to research in British sources. Both studies, regarding the war as primarily the product of British policy, emphasize the need for more searching investigation of that policy and its motives than has been common since the days of Henry Adams. In his approach to this subject Horsman stresses the conflict in England between economic groups—the shipping and West Indian interests, intent on strangling American competition, and the manufacturers, to whom the American market was important. After the short-lived Fox ministry of 1806–1807, spokesmen for the former groups were in

control until the economic depression of 1811-1812 supplied the sponsors of the manufacturers with new arguments and, too late, brought the repeal of the orders in council.

So far there is little to arouse controversy. Horsman, English-born, seems if anything less sympathetic to the British cause than American-born Perkins. In the order in council of April 26, 1809, for example, Perkins sees a conciliatory intent on the part of Percival and Canning; Horsman finds only added injury. On the American side, however, Horsman puts less stress than does Perkins on emotional factors, while both regard the orders in council as the basic American grievance. Horsman recognizes the American resentment, which he thinks had considerable justification, at the work of British agents among the Indians and goes so far as to say that the Battle of Tippecanoe "had a profound effect on American sentiment, and helped to bring it to the pitch necessary for war," but he believes war would have come without it. This may very well be true, but in view of the very close division in Congress on the war issue—closer in some of the preliminary votes than in the vote on the actual declaration of war—one may wonder whether any element of motivation, even the interest in Florida, can safely be discarded as unessential. A nineteen-foot bridge almost spans a twenty-foot chasm, but the twentieth foot is still essential.

In my opinion, Horsman and other recent writers on the subject should re-examine the evidence pointing to Florida as a minor inducement to war and to a sectional understanding involving the possible acquisition of Florida and Canada, evidence not conclusive but perhaps deserving of more attention than it has been accorded of late.

*Williamsville, New York*

JULIUS W. PRATT

CANALS AND AMERICAN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. By *Carter Goodrich et al.* Edited by *Carter Goodrich*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1961. Pp. vi, 303. \$7.50.)

As the first publication of Columbia University's Graduate Workshop on the Economic Development of the Industrial Countries, *Canals and American Economic Development* would attract the attention of historians for that fact alone. The distinguished name of Carter Goodrich as author and editor gives promise of a soundly conceived and scholarly work, and all promises are upheld. This book synthesizes newly marshaled and previously exploited data in a most meaningful fashion. The focus is on the planning of economic development, decisions to construct canals in this instance, and on their impact on the economy. In the first part of the study, which deals with the process of decision making, Julius Rubin first presents the alternatives considered before the citizens of New York State embarked on an innovating public improvement at public expense, then makes a comparative study of the almost panicky adoption of an imitative public im-

provement—the Mainline—in Pennsylvania. H. Jerome Cranmer, in the third chapter, discusses New Jersey canals as improvements initiated without public funds. Each of these case studies presents significant new interpretations which the two scholars had previously advanced with less brevity, but Chapters iv and v by Harvey H. Segal on cycles of canal construction and canals and economic development contain even more significant ideas. Using tools of economic analysis, he shows the existence of three long canal cycles (1815–1834, 1834–1844, and 1844–1860) and gives a rationale for the character of each. Noteworthy was the fact that these swings had little correlation with other types of fluctuations in economic activity during the period 1815–1860. As to the impact of the canal construction and operation on economic growth, Segal shows that, although on a fifth of the country's 4,200 miles of artificial water routes costs exceeded benefits, "the system taken as a whole was successful in meeting the customary tests of benefit-cost analysis." Important as the direct benefits were, the author concludes that the indirect, nonmeasurable influence of the canals on enlarging the domestic market, lowering the cost of foodstuffs, speeding the development of the West, and stimulating industrial expansion in the East had even greater significance for economic growth. In a clearly written conclusion Goodrich briefly summarizes the findings of the three young scholars and tentatively suggests what can be learned from the evidence presented. For historians, perhaps the most important lesson is that canal promoters won majority support in several state legislatures for government planning and implementation of public improvements. When resources of individuals were inadequate for achieving a desired goal, pragmatic Americans had no qualms about having recourse to the state.

*Harvard University*

RALPH W. Hidy

PRESIDENT JAMES BUCHANAN: A BIOGRAPHY. By *Philip Shriver Klein*. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1962. Pp. xviii, 506. \$7.50.)

WHEN James Buchanan retired from the presidency in 1861 he was a discredited politician, but he trusted to the verdict of history for justice. Professor Philip Klein after years of painstaking scholarship has rendered that verdict in a critical, well-written, and eminently fair biography. Buchanan based his political career on the control of Pennsylvania politics, and in analyzing this complicated story the author has made one of his most important contributions. Here he shows the interplay of an incredible amount of factionalism, based largely on the personal ambitions of local leaders. Cutting across these personal struggles for power and position were the issues of the tariff, the bank, and slavery problems. In these factional fights Buchanan played the role of master politician, skillfully engineering combinations and compromises and acting as peacemaker.

In his long career in American politics he accomplished very little of a con-

structive, forward-looking nature, probably because he held to the creed of a conservative. He has generally been regarded as a "dough-face," a timeserving politician, and a weak, vacillating man. In this biography he appears, on the contrary, to be a leader of genuine patriotism, wielding patronage for his political ends but not seeking to make money out of politics, remarkably firm of will on many occasions, and withal an industrious but unimaginative public servant. Klein paints an attractive picture of him at "Wheatland," generous in caring for the weaker members of his family, yet petty and tyrannical at times, for example, opening the mail of Harriet Lane, his niece and hostess at the White House, and refusing to allow her to give dances in the Executive Mansion.

Despite much ability, experience, and shrewd calculation, Buchanan made some serious mistakes of judgment. His error in supporting the Lecompton Constitution, the author maintains, arose out of his devotion to legalism and his patriotic desire to end an issue that threatened the preservation of the Union. His veto of the homestead bill was a major blunder politically. In foreign affairs his expansionist policy into the Caribbean alarmed the North and was falsely regarded as dictated by a proslavery policy. One of the contributions of this study is to absolve the President from the charge most often made against him that he was a "dough-face," dominated by southern politicians. Rather, he selected his cabinet to exclude extremists on both sides of the slavery controversy. In the secession crisis he tried desperately to prevent the secession of the lower South and to act the part of a peacemaker, with the result that he was cursed by both sides. In this endeavor he urged Congress to call a national convention and appealed to President-elect Lincoln, but the Republicans in Congress obstructed his peace efforts, and Lincoln was passive, apparently blind to the realities of the crisis. His policy in respect to Fort Sumter, Klein maintains, was almost precisely the policy adopted by Lincoln; he was firmly determined not to surrender the forts. Buchanan's action in the secession crisis, nevertheless, reveals the lack of dynamic leadership needed for the times, and, above all, he was too much of a constitutional lawyer.

*University of Kentucky*

CLEMENT EATON

CAVALIER AND YANKEE: THE OLD SOUTH AND AMERICAN NATIONAL CHARACTER. By *William R. Taylor*. (New York: George Braziller. 1961. Pp. 384. \$6.00.)

To the vast amount of serious studies dealing with the Old South, William R. Taylor has added a new, fresh, and stimulating treatment of the idea that during the generation prior to 1860 "images" emerged of two separate, distinct civilizations of North and South, of "Yankee" and "Cavalier." The author's emphasis has been placed largely upon this developing concept of the South, "both as represented in the North and as Southerners themselves have conceived of it." He has frankly relied heavily upon literary sources, correctly believing that historians



have somewhat neglected to search for what can be learned about an age from its literature. Rightly also he has carefully qualified his generalizations, remarking that recent historical scholarship has tended to narrow ante bellum differences between North and South. His task, as he sets it, is to redefine and re-examine the persistence of certain important distinctions. Negro slavery played an important role in compelling southerners to live by a different code, because simultaneously they must dwell side by side with the nation's and even the world's values, resulting, as Taylor observes, in the South's carrying on "a peculiar kind of dialogue with the nation, sometimes constructive and harmonious, sometimes carping and critical."

Skillfully selecting for his purposes a number of writers such as William Wirt, James Fenimore Cooper, Sarah Hale, George Tucker, Beverley Tucker, John Pendleton Kennedy, William Alexander Caruthers, James Kirke Paulding, and William Gilmore Simms, the author defines the images and the rationalizations of the often doomed planter-aristocrat. Because some northerners became apprehensive at the changes being wrought in America from Jackson to Lincoln, Taylor has extracted the essence of this foreboding from the works of Sarah Hale, Paulding, and even of Mrs. Stowe, which sought some alternative to the evils of industrialism in a sort of "fantasy" South.

For their part, southern novelists sometimes permitted themselves a touch of satire or criticism, but as Taylor concludes, none viewed southern society "as a joking matter for very long." From the introspective early fiction of Kennedy, Caruthers, and Simms, it is clear that the aristocratic South was in for trouble. Conceding that other factors were at work, Taylor believes that these men composed "their first novels . . . as a means of resolving problems and working through anxieties that could not be handled in any other way." Reconciliation and self-admonition rather than advocacy or affirmation were central ideas in the books of the early period, but most of these writers turned to intransigence in their later novels. A case in point was Simms, whose pitiful dilemma in the 1850's is laid bare in Taylor's pages.

Contradictions and divisions among and within southern writers are other subjects suggestively presented here. They created a synthetic southern gentleman, Taylor finds, not because they believed in him, but because they needed him. He observes also that it has been the ardent southerner of tortured loyalties who has peered deepest into the dark recesses of southern character. To this category may be added W. J. Cash, William Faulkner, Julian Meade, and Clarence E. Cason. Taylor's dialogue between South and nation continues in our time and is a subject of the most intense popular interest. Those concerned with "American studies," as well as orthodox students of American history and literature, will profit by Taylor's brilliant insights.

*Washington and Lee University*

OLLINGER CRENSHAW

POLITICS AND THE CRISIS OF 1860. By *William E. Baringer et al.* Edited by *Norman A. Graebner*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1961. Pp. xii, 156. \$3.00.)

UNQUESTIONABLY most southerners regarded a Republican victory in the 1860 presidential election as a threat to their social order. How they came to have this apprehension and the degree to which it was justified are the twin themes of *Politics and the Crisis of 1860*, five gracefully written essays commemorating the centennial of the first Lincoln election, which were presented originally at the 1960 Gettysburg College Civil War Conference. Though differing considerably in tone and emphasis, the five authors, all well-known authorities on the 1850's, agree that the South did indeed face a real danger. In his introductory essay Norman A. Graebner argues that Lincoln and the Republicans could not "present to the nation any genuine alternative but civil war to indefinite coexistence with slavery"; since the latter alternative was politically impossible, the former became inevitable. Don E. Fehrenbacher, in his discussion of the Republican nominating convention, corrects an older view of Lincoln's party in 1860 as a moderate conglomeration of interest groups and stresses "that opposition to slavery constituted the emotional core and unifying principle of the early Republican Party," a principle evident both in its comprehensive antislavery platform and in its candidate's "firm and forthright . . . position on slavery." Even had Lincoln been defeated, Robert W. Johannsen suggests in his essay on the Democratic convention, the southern position would still have been in danger. It is incorrect, he argues, to attribute the breakup of the Democratic party "solely to personal antagonisms" against Stephen A. Douglas; northern Democrats, like northern Republicans, were refusing new guarantees to the South's peculiar institution. During the campaign itself, William E. Baringer maintains in his contribution, the sectional issues were in actuality far from clear, but the Republicans with superior political skill succeeded in "convincing the North that its interest in free soil was safe only in Republican hands." In a final, summary essay Avery Craven notes that the South was indeed under attack, not merely from the northern politicians, northern moralists, and northern economic interests; the "true culprit" was "the *Modern World* of Nationalism, the Industrial Revolution, and Freedom."

The five essays, taken together, constitute a thoughtful, persuasive interpretation of the 1860 election from a moderate revisionist point of view. Evincing the familiar revisionist distaste for politicians, for agitators, and for Republicans in general, the authors reaffirm that the sectional crisis called for "a wise and tolerant statesmanship." Only Stephen A. Douglas, it seems to them, exhibited this quality, and, but for the emergence of Lincoln, he might have united conservatives of North and South, have "blunted the secession movement and guided the nation past the danger of civil war."

*Johns Hopkins University*

DAVID DONALD

TRAVELS IN THE NEW SOUTH: A BIBLIOGRAPHY. Volume I, THE POSTWAR SOUTH, 1865-1900: AN ERA OF RECONSTRUCTION AND READJUSTMENT; Volume II, THE TWENTIETH-CENTURY SOUTH, 1900-1955: AN ERA OF CHANGE, DEPRESSION, AND EMERGENCE. Edited by *Thomas D. Clark*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1962. Pp. xvi, 267; xiii, 301. \$20.00 the set.)

"THE best thing that can be said" about Charles E. Abbott's *Diary of a Tour through Canada and the United States* "is that the pages are numbered correctly." *How I Found It in North and South* "is a coy little book designed especially to irritate a bibliographer." Charles Beadle's *A Trip to the United States in 1887* "documents the fact that at least one Englishman not only scampered, he galloped across America." Samuel A. Fackler, author of *Ups and Downs of a Country Editor, Mostly Downs*, "was a drunken newspaperman who wandered over southern Georgia and northern Florida scattering empty liquor bottles and typographical errors with equal abandon." "The only juice" in the Reverend Hugh R. Haweis' two-volume *Travel and Talk* "is a description of a Negro sermon; otherwise it is as dry as a piece of leftover Yorkshire pudding." "It is amazing how much space" Paul Groussac "consumed in saying nothing of note" in *Del Plata al Niágara*.

These pungent parcels of reproof from *Travels in the New South* illustrate some of the problems of the editor and compilers of a monumental six-volume work covering the period from 1527 to 1955 and brought to completion in the present fifth and sixth volumes devoted to the ninety years following the Civil War. The recognized scholarship of contributors to the New South volumes inspires confidence that workmanship in annotations and mechanics has been meticulously achieved by Fletcher M. Green for the period 1865-1880; by Thomas D. Clark, 1880-1900; by Rupert B. Vance for English-speaking travelers, 1900-1955; and by Lawrence G. Thompson for foreign-language accounts of the same period. In the last third of the nineteenth century only 20 per cent of the 507 titles were published in foreign languages; in the twentieth century, 62 per cent of the 627 entries.

As in earlier volumes, annotations vary in length from a sentence to two pages; bad books as well as good are appraised; and accounts with only a few pages or a chapter or two on the South are included. Genuine travelogues compete for space with surveys, promotional literature, guidebooks, and directories. Collectively, accounts of travelers with diverse interests present a cross section of the cultural, economic, social, and in some periods the political history of the South. They yield observations and reflections on persons, places, and problems of current and historical import: Miami, New Orleans, and Washington; Theodore Roosevelt, Booker Washington, and Huey Long; and almost inevitably the Negro and the race problem. Change is a constant factor, with a shifting emphasis from the rural to the urban industrialized South readily apparent.

The design of the new volumes remains the same: aid to research scholars in southern history. The whole series may serve other purposes. Imaginative minds may discover a hundred or more topics for investigation, and librarians may find it a valuable check list in augmenting collections of rare and recent books.

University of Oregon

WENDELL H. STEPHENSON

POPULATION REDISTRIBUTION AND ECONOMIC GROWTH, UNITED STATES, 1870-1950. Volume II, ANALYSES OF ECONOMIC CHANGE. By *Simon Kuznets et al.* With an introduction by *Dorothy Swaine Thomas*. [Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, Volume LI.] (Philadelphia: the Society. 1960. Pp. xiv, 289. \$5.00.)

THE Pennsylvania studies of population redistribution and economic growth within the continental United States, 1870-1950, are a major contribution to recent economic and social history. This volume presents three economic analyses of the invaluable reference tables (for population, labor force, manufacturing, and personal income, by states) furnished in Volume I, plus a fourth study that synthesizes some of the same data with Tostlebe's independent estimates for state agricultural output and capital. The three treatments of the earlier analytically oriented reference tables are Ann R. Miller on "Labor Force Trends and Differentials" and R. A. Easterlin on "Redistribution of Manufacturing" and "Regional Growth of Income, 1880-1950." The fourth study, by Simon Kuznets, is on "The Changing Distribution and Structure of Economic Activity." Dorothy S. Thomas writes a lucid introduction that sets the four economic contributions into the framework of the larger project.

Each of the contributions is concerned with persistence and change among the state populations in regard to economic activities and variously defined economic "opportunities" and with consequent patterns of geographical concentration or dispersion, and of structural convergence or divergence.

The summary measures of concentration or dispersion are for practical purposes the same in all four analyses. In both form and rationale they resemble the measures developed by the National Resources Planning Board in the early 1940's. The method involves the subtraction of one observed percentage distribution by states from another distribution (historical, theoretical, or national) and the summation over the entire range of either the positive deviations (Mrs. Miller, Easterlin) or of all deviations, disregarding signs (Kuznets). The Miller-Easterlin results are obtained by unweighted averages of state deviations which they regard as more revealing of spatial differentiation, while Kuznets uses averages of state deviations weighted by size of population or level of income to accord with his chosen emphasis on functional difference and de-emphasis of geographic detail. The summary measure of convergence or divergence among state structures is obtained by computing the arithmetic mean deviation of state values from

the corresponding national average. The absolute deviations are summed, disregarding signs, and the sum divided by the number of states. When this absolute mean deviation is in turn divided by the national average, the relative mean deviation is obtained and expressed in the form of percentage points. Decreasing relative mean deviations for any series indicate convergence among the states over time; increasing relative mean deviations, the reverse.

Such measures reveal that both agricultural and nonagricultural activities (especially manufacturing) were more concentrated geographically in the 1870's than at any subsequent date, hence state industrial structures have generally tended to become more alike. However, the amount of shifting from one industrial group to another that would be required to achieve uniformity of state structures was always appreciably less for agriculture than for either nonagriculture (eight groups) or all industry (nine groups including agriculture). Owing to increasing participation rates for adults in almost all states, especially rates for females of the middle and older age ranges, labor force participation rates have also converged. Per capita personal income levels have become more alike but, while the sharpness of convergence has been reduced in recent decades, the tendency toward equalization among the states remains pronounced. It is also shown that geographical redistribution of activities has slowed from the earlier to the latter half of the period. The years to about 1910 were dominated by the process of "extensive" expansion to new resource areas; the years thereafter were "more truly a time of intensive expansion."

For their full evaluation these economic results must await a promised third volume which will contain the crucial population analyses. Indeed, Volume III must furnish "the missing demographic links" if the authors are to demonstrate their contention that migration is the chief mechanism by which population distribution across the nation has been adjusted to the changing distribution of economic opportunities.

*Harvard University*

ERIC E. LAMPARD

STRATEGY AND STRUCTURE: CHAPTERS IN THE HISTORY OF THE INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISE. By *Alfred D. Chandler, Jr.* [M. I. T. Press Research Monographs.] (Cambridge, Mass.: M. I. T. Press. 1962. Pp. xiv, 463. \$10.00.)

THOUGH the subtitle might well lead to the assumption that this is an assemblage of unrelated and disjointed essays on various phases of industrial enterprise, nothing could be farther from the case. This is a tightly written, closely reasoned volume organized about a central scheme. It traces the evolution of industrial organization and bases its generalizations and laws upon the administrative history of "close to a hundred of America's largest industrial enterprises."

This total included the fifty with the largest assets in 1909 and seventy with the largest assets in 1948 and 1959. Four pioneering concerns, Du Pont, General Motors, New Jersey Standard, and Sears-Roebuck, are each given a separate chapter of intensive treatment. Chandler concludes that structure in big business enterprises follows strategy. By strategy he means an over-all decision about goals and the allocation of resources to attain them. In turn "changes in strategy... appear to have been in response to the opportunities and needs created by changing population and changing national income and by technological innovation."

The end product of this evolution has been the decentralized, multipurpose divisional structure at the top of which is a head office with staff executives who "coordinate, approve, and plan," making, in short, long-time, general decisions, and below it are autonomous divisions, each equipped with its own departments for such functions as manufacturing, selling, purchasing, and research. The line and the staff, the operational, tactical units, and the general office are tied together by a system of communications whose effectiveness depends upon its precision and standardization. Chandler, if only through the choice of the concerns he examines in detail, clearly regards the decentralized, multipurpose divisional structure as the optimum. Though he gives a reason for his preference, the narrative still leaves the impression that change has here reached its inevitable apogee. One reflects that man, placing himself at the head of the genealogical tree, christened himself *Homo sapiens*, and that lower primates, like the copper and nickel companies, perhaps ought to apologize for still being in the ape stage with a centralized functional structure.

Many features of the book may put off the general historian. The early spate of necessary definitions, the inclusion of organization charts, as complicated as the models physicists have made for molecules, may convince him that here is just another book on business organization, best assigned to students in management courses to give them historical depth and perspective. Such a conclusion would be a great mistake. No other book that I know of brings the specialty of business history so much into the stream of economic and general history. It does this by enlarging the list of examples so that historians have little excuse for now confining themselves to Standard Oil and United States Steel. By its emphasis upon the market as the determinant of business strategy, it opens a vista where the infinite variety of urbanism looms more important than the Bessemer converter. It shows a business generation—Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., Pierre S. du Pont, Walter Teagle, General Robert E. Wood, and a host of others—at work upon the task of meeting their business problems. To succeed they had to muster not only energy, but originality, detachment, and thought of great refinement and distinction. They were not the masters but the servants of consumers. "The market, the nature of their resources, and their entrepreneurial talents have, with relatively few exceptions, had far more effect on the history of large industrial firms in the United States than have anti-trust laws, taxation, labor and welfare

legislation, and comparable evidences of public policy." If the authors of apologetics for a general welfare philosophy will allow this book a hearing, it will unsettle many cherished stereotypes.

*Thetford Center, Vermont*

EDWARD C. KIRKLAND

PROHIBITION: THE ERA OF EXCESS. By *Andrew Sinclair*. Preface by *Richard Hofstadter*. (Boston: Atlantic-Little, Brown. 1962. Pp. xii, 480. \$7.95.)

BREWED IN AMERICA: A HISTORY OF BEER AND ALE IN THE UNITED STATES. By *Stanley Baron*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1962. Pp. xiv, 424. \$7.50.)

To historians intent on tracing the main course of political and economic development, as Richard Hofstadter has pointed out, the story of prohibition appears as a parenthetical digression rather than as a major development in American history and a significant revelation of the character of American society. It usually receives no more than passing mention in the general texts, and it has been left to an Englishman, Andrew Sinclair, to write the first comprehensive scholarly account of the subject.

At the outset Sinclair gets to the significance of the prohibition movement. "The questions which occupied the American people in the first three decades of this century," he writes, "were not the questions which occupied their Presidents. While the White House was concerned with trusts and taxation and tariffs and foreign affairs, the people worried over prohibition and Romanism and fundamentalism and immigration and the growing power of the cities of the United States. These worries lay under the surface of all political conflicts. For the old America of the village and farms distrusted the new America of the urban masses. Prohibition was the final victory of the defenders of the American past. On the rock of the eighteenth amendment, village America made its last stand."

In this broad context the author has written a study, not simply of the rise and fall of prohibition, but of the prohibition movement as an aspect of an "immense social change, the metamorphosis of Abraham Lincoln's America into the America of Franklin Roosevelt." Thus conceived, the study explores American literature, medical science, reform politics, racial theories, religious tenets, law, crime, rural life, and urban growth, as the prohibition issue touched upon these matters. Based upon a broad range of sources, *The Era of Excess* is, on the whole, a highly convincing study, but one that suffers occasionally from an overstatement and overly authoritative statement of the case. Sinclair seems to have a weakness for strikingly bold generalizations, which tends to lead him farther than many readers will be willing to follow. For instance, many historians, while admiring the skill with which he psychoanalyzes dry-minded America, may, nevertheless, be made uncomfortable by the cocksureness of his Freudian interpretation. And the chap-



ter on the submissiveness of presidential candidates to the prohibitionists is surely unreasonably cynical. The book is brilliantly and wittily written, although, again, the author exhibits a fondness for the paradox and the happy turn of phrase which sometimes leads him beyond the bounds of his evidence. Nevertheless his understanding of American society and American history thoroughly justifies, for the most part, his altogether self-confident approach. *Era of Excess* is a most valuable and entertaining study. It is plentifully illustrated with diverting photographs and cartoons.

Stanley Baron's *Brewed in America*, similarly well researched and well written, is the most scholarly historical study yet to have been made of the American brewing industry. Its intended audience, however, appears to be members of the industry rather than students of American history. It traces the rise of individual brewing establishments from colonial times to the present, organizational developments within the industry, and changes in brewing techniques. But the reader who comes to this study in search of information concerning the relation of the brewing industry to the saloon and the role of the brewery-owned saloon in preprohibition society and politics will not find his attention very generously rewarded. The story of brewing during prohibition is similarly scanted as are the marketing techniques and political pressure tactics that have developed since repeal. Nevertheless, within its limitations, this is an informative and authoritative work.

*Michigan State University*

GILMAN M. OSTRANDER

THE ILLUSION OF NEUTRALITY. By *Robert A. Divine*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1962. Pp. xi, 370. \$6.50.)

To the best of my knowledge, *The Illusion of Neutrality* is the pioneer comprehensive treatment of the entire scope of the 1935-1939 pacifist legislation. With an eye fixed firmly on his major theme, the author traces the evolution of the neutrality enactments from a House Resolution of December 5, 1927, to a bare dozen years later when President Roosevelt affixed his signature to the last of this genre of laws. Professor Divine has chosen to link the 1939 measure with its three predecessors rather than to regard the repeal of the arms embargo as the initial step toward nonbelligerency in the war that had already begun. He does, however, date the waning of the "illusion" from the administration's decision not to invoke the 1937 Neutrality Act in the Sino-Japanese conflict.

Although the neutrality agitation began prior to the onset of wholesale Fascist aggression, debates between advocates of mandatory versus discretionary powers for the President in event of war became acerbated with the revelations of the Nye Committee and the concomitant disruption of the Versailles settlement. Furthermore, the coalition of Leaguists, isolationists, and middle of the roaders who had supported the Kellogg-Briand Pact now differed sharply as to its real import in

the series of never-ending crises that began in Manchuria. While this book highlights certain aspects of New Deal foreign policy of the prewar years, it does not seriously challenge the existing consensus of the conventional authorities. The multifold activities of lobbyists for the munitions makers in their attempt to prevent federal control lends plausibility to the "merchants of death" fixation of the 1930's. "It seemed," comments the author upon the flouting of the moral embargo imposed during the Italo-Ethiopian War, "as if American businessmen were intent on proving Nye's thesis that they favored profits above peace." Nevertheless, the author seldom conceals his conviction that the end results of the neutrality aberration were all bad. One is entitled to wonder, however, why he did not use his mosaic of evidence to even better advantage in reconstructing the angle of vision from which his chief characters gazed at their unreal image of peace.

The guild of diplomatic historians will welcome the illuminating bibliographical essay which includes an earmarked guide to files in the National Archives. With consummate skill the author has blazed a clear path through the maze of governmental source materials including the Gargantuan Nye inquiry. On the other hand, the *New York Times* should have been counterbalanced by other newspaper sources representing a less metropolitan point of view. Some specialists in the period will feel that too much credence has been given to gossip items culled from J. Pierrepont Moffat's dairy and correspondence.

Divine has clearly traced the origin of the arms embargo legislation to Theodore E. Burton and Arthur Capper, the new "dynamic" neutrality to Charles Warren, and the cash-and-carry concept to Bernard M. Baruch. His readers will be impressed by an artful untangling of the contradictory motives of the chief actors and the unnatural alliances they sometimes made in order to achieve immediate goals. This story involves contending schools of ingrained isolationists, spread-eagle nationalists, inflexible champions of traditional neutral rights, staunch Wilsonians, bewildered pacifists, and spokesmen for major pressure groups unable to agree on the extent of their economic sacrifices for the supposed cause of peace. Little wonder, then, that all four neutrality acts were compromise measures. At times, Senators Borah, Johnson, Nye, and Taft took unexpected stands, for the larger issue was not completely clarified until Hitler's legions reached the English Channel.

Few serious scholars will dissent from the author's assessment of the blame for the enactment of "peace" laws which made general war all the more likely. Divine argues that a "small but highly effective neutrality bloc" forced purblind measures upon a reluctant President who uncharacteristically displayed a lack of leadership in this area until September 1939. Roosevelt fell victim to his original desire "to curtail traditional neutral rights without unduly endangering the nation's well-being and without committing the United States to a policy of collective security." In part, FDR's legerdemain was frustrated by Senator Key Pittman upon whose leadership qualities in a time of foreign crisis it is not charitable

*Hewlett and Anderson: US Atomic Energy Commission* 163

to dwell. In the last analysis, however, the responsibility for our shortsightedness lies with the majority of American voters, who clung all too tenaciously to the outworn shibboleth of nonentanglement.

*University of Buffalo*

SELIG ADLER

A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION. Volume I, THE NEW WORLD, 1939/1946. By *Richard G. Hewlett* and *Oscar E. Anderson, Jr.* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1962. Pp. xv, 766. \$5.50.)

THIS ambitious first volume in the official history of the Atomic Energy Commission is essentially introductory, covering the period from the discovery of nuclear fission in late 1938 through the establishment of the AEC in January 1947. As such, it is less a history of the commission than a detailed examination of the development of the atomic bomb and of American nuclear policy. Its theme is the role of the scientists in both of these areas. Its protagonists are Vannevar Bush, head of the Office of Scientific Research and Development, James B. Conant, chairman of the National Defense Research Committee and Bush's close associate, and Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson, who perhaps more than anyone else understood the deeper implications of the harnessing of atomic energy. Many other personalities also emerge with great clarity, especially the army's able and forceful Major General Leslie R. Groves, commander of the huge military undertaking that made the bomb possible, and Arthur H. Compton, the scientist-administrator who did so much to ensure the success of the plutonium program.

The first half of *The New World* covers the war years. It is heavy on scientific developments, the nuclear partnership with Great Britain, and the decision to use the bomb, but light on the tremendous executive, administrative, and protective role played by the army. The second half of the book describes in detail the initial formulation of American international atomic policy and the struggle for control of atomic energy at home. It is here that the foundations of the AEC are laid.

The authors, historians on the staff of the AEC, have written a careful, perceptive account, bringing clarity and balance to a sometimes obscure and controversial subject. Their official status has in no way affected their objectivity or imagination. They have thoroughly exploited army, OSRD, State Department, and AEC records; the files of atomic energy contractors, congressional committees, and scientific pressure groups; and significant collections of personal papers. They have supplemented this material with scores of interviews. But their documentation, while extensive, is unfortunately no more than "a guide to the sources," and, because of the understandable reluctance of many people to speak for the record, interviews are not directly cited. These drawbacks are minor, however, and do

not detract from the over-all excellence of the volume. The first scholarly history of early atomic developments in the United States, *The New World* is a major contribution.

*Industrial College of the Armed Forces*

STANLEY L. FALK

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1941. In seven volumes. Volume V, THE FAR EAST. [Department of State Publication 6336.] (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. 1956. Pp. v, 938. \$4.00.)

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1943. CHINA. [Department of State Publication 6459.] (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. 1957. Pp. vi, 908. \$4.00.)

THESE recent additions to the *Diplomatic Papers* of the United States deal with two momentous years in the history of American relations with China and the Far East. *The Far East* contains much information on Anglo-American attempts to check Japan's thrust into Thailand, Indochina, and the rest of Southeast Asia during the year immediately preceding the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. The book also relates in detail the American reaction to the gradual breakdown of the united front in China, following the Nationalist campaign against the Communist New Fourth Army early in 1941. Equally revealing is a lengthy section on American efforts to strengthen China's resistance to Japan, while at the same time upholding American privileges and interests in China against Japanese attack. Part of this material bears upon the activities of T. V. Soong and other Chinese sent to the United States for the purpose of lobbying on behalf of greater American aid to Chiang Kai-shek's beleaguered government. Besides illuminating the factional intrigues that surrounded such operations, these documents also reveal much about the genesis of the so-called "China Lobby" in American politics.

The second book under consideration concerns events in China during 1943. There emerges from its pages a picture of almost unimaginable corruption, demoralization, and decay. By 1943 the economy of "Free China" was in a state of collapse. Factories were operating at only a fraction of their capacity, inflation raged, and an artificially enlarged famine threatened the lives of millions of peasants. The Chungking government responded by jailing its critics and calling for additional financial assistance from the United States. Much of this book is little more than a record of American efforts to moderate or ward off the voracious demands of the Chinese, who apparently regarded the United States as an almost inexhaustible source of wealth. It would seem that as early as 1942, moreover, the Kuomintang regime virtually stopped fighting the Japanese and instead devoted its energies to containing the rapidly growing power of the Chinese Communists. Some of the material in this volume raises the question of whether

Chiang Kai-shek's government actually negotiated an informal truce with the Japanese and their puppets.

All of this generated widespread disillusionment and disgust among American diplomats stationed in China. Many who subsequently were forced out of the State Department on the ground that they had Left-wing leanings displayed a vitriolic hatred for Chiang Kai-shek and his followers, but even persons who have escaped the purge repeatedly condemned Chiang's government. Because they despised the Kuomintang some of these men inclined toward the Chinese Communists. Those who pressed for a more friendly American attitude toward the Communists argued that otherwise the United States would find itself an enemy of China if the Communist party triumphed over the fading Kuomintang. Such men seem to have been influenced considerably by the affable and persuasive Chou En-lai, who represented the Communists in Chungking during the war. Scattered through the pages of this book are numerous memoranda of conversations between Chou and various American diplomats.

The foregoing is only a sampling of the material in these two volumes; both should be of the utmost value not only to students of American foreign relations but also to everyone interested in the more recent history of China.

*Duke University*

DONALD G. GILLIN

DIXON-YATES: A STUDY IN POWER POLITICS. By *Aaron Wildavsky*. [Yale Studies in Political Science, Number 3.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1962. Pp. xx, 351. \$6.75.)

WITH this book, the intricacies of Dixon-Yates become understandable for the first time. Professor Wildavsky has used a great variety of sources and has interviewed a hundred persons—some whose names he cannot disclose. Most significantly perhaps, he rejects “any imputation of corruption.” This dispute was a matter of conflicting ideas, of varying conceptions as to public policy, and of power politics. It was another episode in the old fight between public and private power. By 1953 the question had become urgent as to whether TVA should be allowed to expand further, with its coal-burning steam plants. Men disagreed bitterly and sometimes exercised poor judgment. The author believes that Adolphe Wenzell, who was charged with violating the “conflict of interest” law, was really a victim of circumstances and that his intentions were good. Dixon-Yates deserved compensation, moreover, for almost two million dollars in out of pocket expenses when their contract was terminated. The Eisenhower administration, with its “partnership” policy, had put Dixon, Yates, and Wenzell into this predicament. Then when the conflict of interest case arose, and when Memphis decided to build its own power plant, the administration swiftly retreated.

The author's techniques are novel and resourceful. For a subject so complex as this, novelty has much to recommend it. For example, chapter titles usually con-

tain part of a quote: "I thought it was awkward too, but": The First Dixon-Yates Proposal." Most chapters are short; explanatory footnotes often are interesting; quotations are sprinkled through the text; and one chapter has dates as subtopics—suggesting diary entries. Historical background is kept to a minimum. Wildavsky is concerned primarily with political analysis and with finding lessons in Dixon-Yates. He turns to psychology and sociology, trying to explain, for example, why the Eisenhower administration made so many errors. He concludes: "The weakness, I suggest, was embedded in the nature of the '[public] power issue,' was intensified by the structure of the advisory machinery to the President, and resulted in a failure of perception." In a footnote he then quotes Theodore M. Newcomb on "perception." Along with a wealth of detail and good insights, some of his conclusions seem fairly obvious.

The author is not among those dismayed by a governmental fight like this, involving many federal agencies, leaders in Congress, the state of Tennessee, the city of Memphis, private corporations, and many others. Superficially it was an unfortunate affair. Actually, he thinks, a new consensus has emerged on TVA. And the "clash of interests" may well have been the most "efficient process for achieving this end."

*University of Illinois*

J. LEONARD BATES

THE REVOLT OF FRENCH CANADA, 1800-1835: A CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY OF THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH. By *Helen Taft Manning*. (New York: St Martin's Press. 1962. Pp. xx, 426. \$10.00.)

THIS volume is an important contribution to an understanding of a critical period in Canadian and British imperial history. It was a critical period because during these years British colonial authorities attempted to solve two fundamental imperial problems. The first was the problem of how to grant a colony a large measure of self-government without destroying the imperial tie. The second was the problem of finding a method of fitting an alien population like the French Canadians into the British Empire. By the 1840's it became clear that the solution lay in granting limited responsible government to the colonies and, by implication, the acceptance of the French fact in British North America.

Mrs. Manning does not carry her story into the 1840's and the application of responsible government. Indeed, she stops even before the usual dividing point of the abortive rebellion of 1837. Instead she has chosen to examine in detail the years between 1800, when the French Canadians had begun to learn how to use the assembly that had been granted to them unasked for in 1791, and 1835, when it became clear that popular leaders like Louis-Joseph Papineau had concluded that they could not win complete control over their government if they followed the rules established in 1791. In short, it is the story of the failure of a form of representative government in which the executive arm was beyond the control of

the elected legislature. It is also the story of the development of French Canadian nationalism, and the book gives an excellent account of the way that French Canadian leaders learned to use unfamiliar institutions to defend and promote *la survivance de la nation canadienne*.

One of this study's chief virtues arises from the author's broad knowledge of British colonial history. Rather than simply recounting the increasingly bitter political struggles in the little colony of Lower Canada, she has set the "revolt" firmly in the context of imperial policy. As a result she not only has been able to add more information to our knowledge of British policy, but also her treatment of the British authorities is fairer than once was fashionable.

Nevertheless, one aspect of the author's argument seems unconvincing. She contends that after 1827 the British government would have "been happy to move more rapidly toward self-government . . . had it been divorced from the claims of 'la nation Canadienne.'" But this claim, while no doubt true, surely misses the major point about the struggle in Lower Canada. For the leaders of the popular party in French Canada, self-government could not be divorced from nationalism. That is, French Canadians did not want self-government as an end in itself, but rather as the best available means for a conquered nation to defend its culture. Since the British authorities (and the British minority in Lower Canada) evidently could not accept this fact, they could not grant responsible government. Therefore, the conflict continued until 1837 when the political struggle was transformed into a somewhat comic military one. The objective of the French Canadians, however, remained the same: *la survivance*. Thus, it seems that there are still strong arguments for accepting 1837, rather than 1835, as the more logical dividing point in this phase of Canadian history.

A book which is so packed with information should perhaps not be criticized for what it does not include. Yet the period under discussion cannot be adequately understood in the largely political and constitutional terms that form the basis of this volume. Mrs. Manning is not unaware of the social, economic, and cultural issues that surrounded the political revolt. But the book would have been more convincing if the work of such economic historians as D. G. Creighton and Fernand Ouellet had been more completely woven into the texture of the constitutional and political disputes. Nevertheless, Mrs. Manning has given us a sound and clearly written volume which contains much new material for which Canadian and British imperial historians will be grateful.

*University of Toronto*

RAMSAY COOK



\* \* \* *Other Recent Publications* \* \* \*

*BOOKS*

General

INTERNATIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF HISTORICAL SCIENCES. Volume XXVII, 1958, including some publications of previous years. Edited by *Michel François* and *Nicolas Tolu* for the International Committee of Historical Sciences, Lausanne. [Published with the assistance of UNESCO, and under the patronage of the International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies.] (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1960. Pp. xxiv, 410.) Reviews of successive volumes of an annual bibliography are inevitably somewhat repetitious. I therefore repeat again that the *International Bibliography of Historical Sciences* is singularly weak in reporting the bibliography of archival literature. The "Writings on Archives . . . 1956-57," for example, and "Church Archives in the United States and Canada: A Bibliography," both appearing in the *American Archivist* in 1958 are not noticed, though the bibliographies in *Archivum* and *Der Archivar* are. Doubtless a more serious omission, and at any rate a new observation, is that the present volume fails to list the *Writings on American History, 1952* (published in 1958). These oversights seem regrettable. One expects a bibliography to exhibit special interest in other pertinent bibliographies, particularly when, as it is true of this work, it must be highly selective. I deplore once again the cultural lag that prevents the listing of edited documents in microfilm (formal microfilm publication). These observations aside, the present volume contains 7,133 entries (some composite) from 35 countries and 4 international organizations. No changes have been made in the classifications scheme or format; the compilers doubtless realize that no classification is likely to meet the specific needs of any large group of users, and they carefully provide two very full indexes, personal name and geographical. Coverage is uneven. None of the United States National Archives *Preliminary Inventories* is listed, though publications of the Archives Nationales in Paris are. In the list of "General Historical Bibliographies" the reader will find both historical and general national bibliographies intermingled. The *British National Bibliography Annual Volume* for 1957 is listed for Great Britain, which is roughly analogous to listing the *Cumulative Book Index* or the *Library of Congress Subject Catalog* for the United States, neither of which is represented. Lest these observations appear a bit chauvinistic, I hasten to add that the matter of achieving balance in a cooperative international bibliographical enterprise is a difficult one, and the compilers have given us a useful, if uneven, bibliography.

*Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society*

LESTER W. SMITH

THE SHAPE OF TIME: REMARKS ON THE HISTORY OF THINGS. By *George Kubler*. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1962. Pp. xii, 136. \$3.75.) In *The Shape of Time* Mr. Kubler says that it is the task of the historian to find a pattern in the succession of events in the past. Our understanding of the past must be based on things, which may be written documents, objects primarily for use, as well as objects of art. Although he distinguishes between things for use and things for expression or delight, he takes into consideration those aspects which all man-made things have in

common. The book, then, deals with things, artistic things mainly, their relationships to each other, and the meanings that they may impart. Kubler points out that things may have significance according to when, where, why, and by what means they were made, and according to what they symbolize. But his main thesis is that each object may be regarded as a single unit and yet as one of a type, as occupying a specific position in the sequence of solutions to the problem which gave rise to the type. He explores the illumination of the past that results when things are so regarded. In the discussion of things in a sequence Kubler speaks of the similarity to electrodynamics as against biological growth. He points out signals and relays, prime objects and replications, broken sequences and ones that are extended beyond normal expectations, and discusses the importance of the entrance of the thing, the point at which it joins the sequence, some things entering too early or too late to be effective. The book is stimulating. It is written with a weight of understanding and a breadth of experience behind it and so requires a good measure of experience for its appreciation. It is not for the beginning student of history or the specialist. The precision and clarity of the writing, as well as the thinking, give the reader something akin to aesthetic pleasure.

*University of Texas*

MARIAN B. DAVIS

ENCOUNTERS IN HISTORY. By *Pieter Geyl*. [Meridian Books.] (New York: World Publishing Company. 1961. Pp. 405. \$1.65.) This book contains three previously unpublished essays by the brilliant Dutch historian and polemicist, Pieter Geyl: "French Historians for and against the Revolution"; "The Idea of Liberty in History"; and "Hitler's Europe." All the essays, on Shakespeare as a historian, on Netherlands history, on the idea of Europe, on several contemporary historians, are worth reading or rereading.

*Washington, D. C.*

BCS

FRANSE FIGUREN. By *P. Geyl*. (Amsterdam: Wereld-Bibliotheek. 1960. Pp. 127. Glds. 2.40.) NEDERLANDSE FIGUREN. In two volumes. By *P. Geyl*. (Amsterdam: Wereld-Bibliotheek. [n.d.] Pp. 127; 122. Glds. 2.40 each.) ENGELSE FIGUREN. In two volumes. By *P. Geyl*. (Amsterdam: Wereld-Bibliotheek. 1961. Pp. 127; 127. Glds. 2.40 each.) AMERIKAANSE FIGUREN. By *P. Geyl*. (Amsterdam: Wereld-Bibliotheek. 1961. Pp. 120. Glds. 2.40.) DUITSE EN ITALIAANSE FIGUREN. By *P. Geyl*. (Amsterdam: Wereld-Bibliotheek. 1961. Pp. 126. Glds. 2.40.) More than a century ago, when modern historical scholarship was just taking shape, Macaulay almost singlehandedly created the art of the historical book review as personal essay—not only created it, but practiced it with majestic mastery. Since then historians have turned away from this hybrid form; their book reviews are now almost invariably either scholarly analyses for the specialist or journalistic summaries for the layman. The neglected form has been brought to new life by the eminent Utrecht historian Pieter Geyl. Originally published as newspaper articles, mainly in the weekly *Vrij Nederland*, they are not primarily concerned with the books under consideration in and for themselves but rather with providing the "reviewer" with a springboard for his own commentary upon the material. Since Geyl does not stay within his "own" field of Dutch history, but wanders through a wide range of historical literature—Dutch, French, German, Italian, English, and American—he writes most often not as a specialist but as a well-informed general historian. Geyl presents himself to the general reader in the same character that the professional historian has come to know: an empiricist with a strong theoretical bent; an unclassical liberal concerned with social improvement and political freedom; a proud European and an unrepentant "great-Netherlander." Geyl works with broader, more rapid strokes than did the staid Macaulay and possesses far more charm; these essays may not

endure as literature, but they live in the present with vigor and meaning. Perhaps other historians, and not only in the Netherlands, will seek and be given the opportunity to practice this difficult but rewarding literary-scholarly form.

*University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee*

HERBERT H. ROWEN

SCIENCE SINCE BABYLON. By *Derek J. de Solla Price*. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1961. Pp. x, 149. \$4.50.) The present book consists of five lectures delivered at Yale, with an epilogue describing the author's philosophy of what he prefers to call the "humanities" of science. The lectures do not form a coherent whole, and they do not attempt to supply the bird's-eye view of the history of science which the general title might suggest. By far the most interesting lectures are the one on "Celestial Clockwork in Greece and China" and the provocatively titled "Diseases of Science." In the former, Price tells the story of his own important researches on the evolution of astronomical instruments and clockwork, including his discovery of a manuscript, "Equatorie of the Planetis," of the time of Chaucer and tentatively attributed to Chaucer himself. In Chinese sources he discovered, with the aid of Joseph Needham, what may be a connecting link between the timepieces of classical antiquity and the mechanical clocks of modern times. In the most original and important of his essays, on "Diseases of Science," Price demonstrates that scientific personnel, scientific journals, and scientific contributions have undergone exponential (rather than linear) growth since the eighteenth century; that is, they have doubled every fifteen years. If this growth of science should persist for another generation, as it undoubtedly will barring a catastrophe to civilization, Price postulates a world "saturated" with science and unable to recruit the scientists required to carry out even the researches already clearly envisioned. He plausibly concludes that severe rationing of scientific personnel will have to be instituted and many promising lines of research choked off. All who are interested in general history, as well as the history of science, should read and ponder upon this essay.

*Harvard University*

DONALD FLEMING

HISTORY OF THE LATHE TO 1850: A STUDY IN THE GROWTH OF A TECHNICAL ELEMENT OF AN INDUSTRIAL ECONOMY. By *Robert S. Woodbury*. [Monograph Series, Number 1.] (Cleveland, Ohio: Society for the History of Technology. 1961. Pp. 124.) Woodbury, who teaches the history of technology at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, is at work on a history of machine design which promises to alter our perspectives not only in his special field but in general cultural history. He has produced preliminary monographs on machines for gear cutting (1958), grinding (1959), and milling (1960). His present history of the lathe (to about 1850) absorbs the entire previous literature and goes far beyond it. His lucid explanations clarify, for example, pictures of lathes in the *Mittelalterliche Hausbuch* of about 1480, the *Codice Atlantico* of Leonardo, and Besson's treatise of 1578 which I had found entirely puzzling. He demonstrates that "all the elements of the industrial lathe were known and in use prior to Maudslay" but that about 1800 Maudslay "provided the great synthesis that embodied all these earlier elements in a design that set the fundamental form which the lathe was to have down to the present." The author would be the first to agree that much remains to be done. For example, he finds no evidence of a water-powered lathe before 1590, at Nuremberg. Yet Thérèse Sclafert, *Le Haut-Dauphiné au moyen âge* (1926), cites lathes at Vaulnaveys in 1347, 1389, and 1393 for each of which the turner paid annually to the dauphin both money and a quota of wooden plates and cups, "pro quodam tornayllio sibi albergato," an expression which seems to indicate that milling rights were involved. In 1433, she says, on the river bank at Quet there

were mills, fulling mills, and a lathe which, in this context, was almost certainly powered by a water wheel: "super quibusdam molendinis, tornallio et gauchariis . . . in ripperia rivi." In view of all that we are learning about the application of water and wind power to many industrial processes during the later Middle Ages, we may expect even earlier documentation of power lathes to be found as more scholars become aware that such problems exist.

*University of California, Los Angeles*

LYNN WHITE, JR.

EXCLUSIVENESS AND TOLERANCE: STUDIES IN JEWISH-GENTILE RELATIONS IN MEDIEVAL AND MODERN TIMES. By *Jacob Katz*. [Scripta Judaica, Number 3.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1961. Pp. xv, 200. \$3.40.) In this stimulating work the author, professor at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, well known through his previous publications in the fields of history and sociology, has set out to illuminate the changes in attitude on the part of the Jews toward their non-Jewish environment during the Middle Ages and down to the era of Enlightenment. Though the author had to limit himself in geographical and historical terms to the Ashkenazic Jewry of northern France and Germany and their descendants in Eastern Europe, he has laid the foundation for a fundamental understanding of Jewish-Gentile relations in their totality since the problems in other areas and periods are but variations and mutations of the same pattern of the earlier period. The scope and range of this work can only be indicated by mentioning the major problems with which it deals. After discussing the fundamental position of the Jews in the medieval world, their doctrinal differences, their economic intercourse, their social and religious segregation, their attitudes toward political and juridical institutions and the moral controls that regulated this relationship, the author presents in the second part some types and attitudes from the tenth to the fourteenth century such as the apostate, proselyte, the martyr, the Hasid, and the disputant. Under the heading "From Exclusiveness to Tolerance" the author deals with the postmedieval period, with the ghetto segregation, the attitude of estrangement, and with the disintegration of Jewish society in the eighteenth century out of which emerged the new attitude of enlightenment and tolerance. His reconstruction and reinterpretation of the socioreligious conditions of medieval Jewry are based on a rich canvas of authentic Hebrew sources, of halakic and Responsa literature, and others, thoroughly and abundantly utilized for his purpose. In a concise and illuminating discussion he indicates the historical forces as they emerged out of the Jewish-Gentile relationship and submits a sound and scholarly evaluation, stimulating for medievalists, sociologists, and Jewish historians alike. This work is worthy of that great seat of learning and research, the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, with which the author has been connected for many years.

*University of California, Berkeley*

WALTER J. FISCHEL

THE AMERICAN MYTH AND THE EUROPEAN MIND: AMERICAN STUDIES IN EUROPE 1776-1960. By *Sigmund Skard*. [Studies in American Civilization.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1961. Pp. 112. \$4.50.) This little book is a masterly summary of the material in Professor Skard's two-volume *American Studies in Europe: Their History and Present Organization* (1958). The organizing principle in these two volumes was geographical: the development of interest in one or another aspect of American history, geography, literature, and politics in each European country was related in great detail. In the present volume the organization is in the main chronological: "In Revolutionary Fervor, 1776-1865," "New Enigmas for Old, 1865-1918," "America at Europe's Crossroads, 1918-1945," and "The Second Discovery,

1954 to the Present." In each of these chronological periods Skard distinguishes between the image of America entertained by various levels of the population in European countries and by scholars themselves. In each period account is also taken of the changing position of the United States in the world and the impact of this on the interest of Europe in America. Skard also shows the relationships between the cleavages within Europe, between "conservatives" and "liberals" and the fluctuating character of concern with American civilization. Also pertinent was the organization of secondary schools and of the universities in several European countries. The progress of American studies in Europe, related to all these factors, is traced more specifically in terms of books written about America, the development of libraries of American materials, the course offerings on America in European educational institutions, and the establishment of chairs. For those who have neither the time nor occasion to read Skard's larger treatment of the theme, this book will prove useful, for it gives a clear account of the main developments and, by virtue of its much shorter compass, accents interpretations which in the earlier book are sometimes overshadowed by the mass of detail. Yet every page of *The American Myth and the European Mind* makes it abundantly clear that this book could have been written only by a scholar whose research had been both extensive and intensive. It should be noted that Skard, who holds the chair of literature, especially American, at the University of Oslo, while not the first to work in this field, has gone far beyond any of his predecessors.

*University of Wisconsin*

MERLE CURTI

AMERICAN AND BRITISH TECHNOLOGY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: THE SEARCH FOR LABOUR-SAVING INVENTIONS. By H. J. Habakkuk. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1962. Pp. 222. \$6.00.) The interest of economists in the conditions of economic growth has led to a number of books that set the deductions of theory against evidence from history. In one of the most interesting and important of these Professor Habakkuk of Oxford advances the hypothesis that relative scarcity of labor in the United States was the major factor in generating a technological advance more rapid than that of England. Partially accounting for scarce labor and increasing its effect on industrialists was a high level of agricultural income from abundant land. Confidence in continuing expansion of the market further increased the American propensity to save and invest in new equipment. "The influences which are relative to development," writes Habakkuk, "combine in many different ways, and each has a different effect according to the combination in which it appears." Accordingly, the factor of scarcity of labor is explored in relation to all the relevant circumstances in the American and English situations, first up to 1850 and then from 1850 to 1900. In the course of this theoretical analysis the author presents a brief, carefully documented, and richly interpretive history of technological change in both countries. The explanatory footnotes, which cover a wide range of printed sources, are particularly valuable. The over-all conclusion is that economic factors in both countries are sufficient to explain the greater willingness of American entrepreneurs to discard the old and adopt the new. Whether economic or social-psychological factors are primary is to some degree a chicken or egg argument. The historian may differ in selection of what is basic without dissenting from the line of reasoning. Domestic geographical mobility as a factor in American attitudes is the only element that seems inadequately considered, and this addition would merely reinforce the general thesis of the effects of labor scarcity.

*University of Pennsylvania*

THOMAS C. COCHRAN

ANGLO-AMERICAN STEAMSHIP RIVALRY IN CHINA, 1862-1874. By *Kwang-Ching Liu*. [Harvard East Asian Studies, Number 8.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1962. Pp. xvi, 218. \$5.95.) In this original work a Chinese scholar writes sympathetically of the early stages of the Western steamship business on the Yangtze River and along the China coast—the brief twelve years before the American and British companies were confronted by a Chinese competitor. He has used fresh primary sources, the records of the leading firms, Russell and Company, Augustine Heard and Company, Jardine, Matheson and Company, and Butterfield and Swire. Many statistics and tables illuminate his text. More than half the book is devoted to the vision, risks, sound business methods, and dramatic success of the Shanghai Steam Navigation Company, a subsidiary of Russell and Company. This New England pioneer brought American steamboats—low draft side wheelers or propellers—to the Yangtze in 1862, cooperated with Chinese merchants, and introduced in the treaty ports great innovations in capital organization and management. It was a joint-stock company uniquely supported from the start by Chinese, British, European, and American investors in China. By 1867 it had gained control of the steamer trade on the Yangtze and held the dominant position on the routes from Shanghai to Tientsin and Ningpo. Spectacular growth and profits during the next six years incited a determined competition from two formidable British companies, Butterfield and Swire and Jardine, Matheson and Company. As their China trade was declining, these business magnates turned to steam navigation in the areas controlled by Russell. Their newly founded shipping companies had undermined the dominant position of the American firm when in 1874 a government-financed Chinese company challenged the Anglo-American monopoly of the steamship services on the Yangtze and the China coast. This important piece of research will be welcomed by everyone interested in Western enterprise in pre-Communist China. *Washington, D.C.*

GRACE FOX

BRITAIN AND CHINA. By *Evan Luard*. [Britain in the World Today.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1962. Pp. 256. \$5.00.) Anglo-Chinese relations, as presented in this delightfully written, fact-filled volume of essays, are as disturbed by differing ideologies, governmental policies, commercial practices, and national purposes today as when Britain, more than a century ago, achieved special rights and privileges in a hostile China by the use of force. The strategic positions of the two powers, however, have been reversed. China's resentment against foreign encroachments on its sovereignty, especially against Britain, formerly its largest foreign investor, has found release and renaissance in an intense nationalism and the adoption of the Marxist-Leninist ideology and Communist governmental procedures. Within the last five years the People's Republic of China has become the most powerful nation in the Far East, evicting British merchants, industrialists, and missionaries, threatening Hong Kong and other neighboring interests, and setting the terms on which it will carry on full diplomatic relations with the United Kingdom. During about the same period Britain, although like China a victor in World War II, has lost the power and influence it held in world affairs for two centuries. Unaided by military forces, Britain can no longer dictate its will to China. Nevertheless, its trade with China, the chief reason for its recognition of the People's Republic, has about tripled its prewar value despite Communist obstacles and hostility. The Far Eastern policy of the United States and the existence of the Chinese Nationalist government in Formosa further complicate Britain's relations with the Chinese mainland. The main British concerns today are the promotion of trade, the preservation of Hong Kong, the maintenance of peace in Asia, and the eventual reconciliation of the interests of the two ideological blocs that divide the world. This undocu-



mented work, the first of a series on Britain's foreign policy sponsored by St. Anthony's College, Oxford, is provocative and timely.  
*Washington, D.C.*

GRACE FOX

EUROPE VIEWS AMERICA: A CRITICAL EVALUATION. By *Edward W. Chester*. Foreword by *Mark A. May*. (Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press. 1962. Pp. 182. \$4.50.) This book stems from the recent American concern over the nation's image in the world. The author has examined the writings of seventy-odd European intellectuals over the last forty years in order to show that the current criticisms of American culture are not the product of the cold war or a sudden decline in America's stature, but rather reflect a critical appraisal of American society that has dominated European thought since the First World War. The results are disappointing. Organizing his analysis along topical lines, with chapters on such diverse themes as the American character, foreign policy, the New Deal, and religion, Mr. Chester ignores the enormous changes that have taken place in American life since 1919, and the corresponding shifts in European views of America. Writers of the 1920's, such as André Siegfried and Hermann von Keyserling, are cited side by side with such recent commentators as Denis Brogan and Harold Laski. Chester's basic technique is even more disturbing. Each chapter contains a series of quotations covering the whole spectrum of possible comments and then ends with a weak generalization designed to reconcile the obvious conflicts. The result is a *montage* in which the author's attempts at synthesis are fruitless. Historians might find this book useful for discovering European views on specific aspects of American culture, but an index limited to author entries and the lack of page references to the books cited greatly weaken its value.

*University of Texas*

ROBERT A. DIVINE

THE AGE OF NATIONALISM: THE FIRST ERA OF GLOBAL HISTORY. By *Hans Kohn*. [World Perspectives, Volume XXVIII.] (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1962. Pp. xvi, 172. \$4.50.) Many broad historical accounts of modern nationalism have appeared in the past generation, and not a few of these have been written by Hans Kohn. Since his present volume is slender, one might therefore expect it to be little more than an epitome of earlier works. Instead, it gives us a view of the subject that is fresh in many ways, and familiar mainly in being written with Kohn's accustomed vigor and authority. To begin with, it is more contemporary than its predecessors. It is also more global. Instead of laying the usual emphasis on Western Europe and the United States in the period before 1930, it sketches that essential background in less than half its space and then deals mainly with the second third of the twentieth century and the new nations of Africa and Asia, with an occasional glance at Latin America. More important, Kohn does not follow the current fashion of viewing all nationalism, especially that of the new Asian and African nations, with unmitigated alarm. Instead, he treats these new nations with sympathy and credits "the force of nationalism," along with "the principles of democratic pluralism," with having "prevented the United Nations from being dominated by single great powers or power blocs." By doing so, he believes, it has reduced the risks inherent in the bipolarization of power. As one result of the bipolar struggle he notes that the United States' choice of its allies since the 1940's has sometimes created abroad "a distorted image of the true nature of the United States and of democracy" and has "weakened and confused the cause of the West." In a work of this kind the problem of selection is extraordinarily difficult. Since the 1930's so many new nations have crowded onto the stage, and there has been so great an upsurge of nationalism among some of the older nations, such as those of Latin America, that the author was presented with an embarrassment of riches. His choice was, in my opinion, gen-



erally sound. Surprisingly, however, his seven-page account of the background and achievement of India's independence leaves the case of Pakistan unexplained, except for a brief reference to "the bitter feud between Hindus and Mohammedans." Only one reference to Pakistan has been found in the text, and it is not listed in the index.

*University of Pennsylvania*

ARTHUR P. WHITAKER

BRASIL E ÁFRICA: OUTRO HORIZONTE (RELAÇÕES E POLÍTICA BRASILEIRO-AFRICANA). By *José Honório Rodrigues*. [Retratos do Brasil, Volume IX.] (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Civilização Brasileira. 1961. Pp. xv, 359.) In this volume a distinguished and influential bibliographer and historian presents his views on the role that Brazil should play in contemporary international affairs. His focus is on Afro-Brazilian relations, but the new approach that he advocates with reference to Africa also entails a fundamental reorientation of Brazilian policy toward the United States, Portugal, the OAS and hemispheric solidarity, NATO, the European Common Market, the East-West conflict, the UN and its blocs, and Western European culture. At the outset, the key ideas of this reorientation are suggested in the form of twenty short theses. The volume is divided into two parts. Part I analyzes the history of Afro-Brazilian relations from 1500 to the inauguration of President Janio Quadros and constitutes an authoritative historical monograph based on extraordinarily broad and varied documentation. The interpretation, not the historical exposition, will arouse controversy. Brazilians, Dr. Rodrigues insists, are neither European nor Latin American. Ethnically and culturally they are a mixed race in which the European-American strains have been Africanized through miscegenation. This does not mean that Brazilians have discarded their Western European heritage, as their insistence on a constitutional regime, the rights of the individual, and the economic and technological system of the West demonstrates. It does mean, however, that through the historical process of cultural interaction Brazilians are uniquely qualified to serve as an intermediary between the peoples of Western European culture and the emerging states of Africa. Part II applies this conclusion to contemporary international relations. As a medium power located in the strategic South Atlantic having close geographical and cultural ties with Africa, Brazil must liberate itself from its traditional solidarity with Latin America and its subservience to European imperialism and to North American hemispheric economic interests. Thus Brazil will be free to deal with all nations, all peoples as it, and it alone, sees fit. Highly controversial in its interpretation, the volume commands respect for its breadth of documentation, penetrating insights, stimulating and provocative analysis of contemporary events, and the courageous integrity of the author.

*Duke University*

ALAN K. MANCHESTER

TOTAL WAR AND COLD WAR: PROBLEMS IN CIVILIAN CONTROL OF THE MILITARY. Edited by *Harry L. Coles*. [A Mershon National Security Center Publication.] (Columbus: Ohio State University Press. 1962. Pp. xii, 300. \$7.00.) This is one of the best books on civil-military relations to be published in recent years. The authors are real experts, writing on topics in which they are expert. Professor Coles has successfully ridden herd on his contributors without cramping their styles. His introduction is a masterly analysis of the significance of their studies. "The real problem," he thinks, "in civil-military relations is not so much to recover the principle of political primacy as to modify and adapt it to present-day circumstances." Where previous works, including those of at least one of the contributors to this volume, on this subject have paid undue attention to the traditional "specter of the man on horseback," the critical problem, for both totalitarian and nontotalitarian states, "is not just a matter of keeping the military subordinate to the civilian authority, but of effective formulation of national

policy which must increasingly take into consideration military implications." With the level of the individual essays so uniformly high, there is little point in quibbling over pluses and minuses. A list of the authors and occasionally shortened titles will, however, indicate the scope and general plan of the volume. They are Norman Gibbs, the only non-American contributor, "Churchill and the British War Cabinet," Maurice Matloff, "Roosevelt as War Leader," Andreas Dorpalen, "Hitler, the Nazi Party, and Wehrmacht in World War II," Richard D. Challener, "The Third Republic and the Generals," Forrest C. Pogue, "Political Problems of a Coalition Command," Louis Morton, "Interservice Co-operation and Political-Military Collaboration [in the United States], 1900-38," Arthur A. Ekirch, Jr., "The Popular Desire for Peace as a Factor in Military Policy," Samuel P. Huntington, "Interservice Competition," Harold Zink, "American Civil-Military Relations in the Occupation of Germany," Raymond L. Garthoff, "Soviet Civil-Military Relations in the Postwar Period," and Harold Hinton, "Political Aspects of Military Power and Policy in Communist China." Nine of the twelve contributors are historians; three are political scientists. All of their contributions are quite free from jargon. Even the title—the book does not deal in any meaningful way with the cold war—can be forgiven as harmless advertising for a very good book.

*Duke University*

THEODORE ROPP

LA CRISE DU SYSTÈME DE SÉCURITÉ COLLECTIVE DES NATIONS UNIES, 1946-1957. By *Fernand van Langenhove*. (Brussels: Institut Royal des Relations Internationales; the Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1958. Pp. 272. 250 fr. B.) Though the League of Nations disintegrated under stress, the United Nations has shown a surprising ability to adapt itself to changing conditions. It was originally designed as an association of the victors in World War II and dominated by the permanent members of the Security Council. Yet with the onset of the cold war and the addition of new members from Asia and Africa the smaller nations have become increasingly influential, and the nature and even the structure of the organization have undergone fundamental changes. These are strikingly reflected in the decline of the Security Council and the growing importance of the General Assembly. Professor van Langenhove of the University of Brussels, formerly Belgium's representative at the UN, tells the story of transformation from the initial disputes over the postwar peace settlement through the Hungarian and Suez episodes. Much attention is naturally given to the Korean conflict and the consequent Uniting for Peace resolution. A concluding chapter deals with the development of regional security systems, such as NATO, and the principle of legitimate defense. The author makes use of no unusual source material, and students of international organization will find little that is novel in his work. Those wishing a reliable, well-organized presentation of this important subject will find it here.

*University of Delaware*

MARSHALL KNAPPEN

DOCUMENTS ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 1958. Selected and edited by *Gillian King*. [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1962. Pp. xviii, 605. \$13.45.) Though some four years old, these documents read much like the morning paper on nuclear testing, the Berlin problem, shooting at Quemoy and Matsu, and other hackneyed items in the cold war. In the wake of Sputnik, Mr. Khrushchev's 1958 demands on the West were surprisingly peremptory and wide ranging. He called for an immediate summit conference to end the East-West contest, gave us six months to leave Berlin (November 27), and told us flatly that the American fleet must get out of the Taiwan Straits. In the ensuing dialogues no argument ever proved countervailing in the other camp, and the year ended with virtually nothing settled. A refreshing exception was the United States-

Soviet agreement to set up a conference to declare Antarctica out of bounds for purposes of power politics (in contrast the Arctic had already been improbably termed a hotbed of the cold war). This volume is organized under five functional headings, most of them chapters in the cold war narrative. Direct East-West exchanges on a summit meeting, nuclear testing and surprise attacks, the two Germanies and two Chinas fill two-fifths of the volume, and the exchange continues through another fifth on the Middle East. The remaining sections deal with the Western alliance, the Communist powers, and six conferences. The unaligned powers scarcely appear in this selection, but the United Nations played a useful role in the crises of the Middle East. Latin America, Africa, and the Far East suffer less neglect here than in earlier volumes. A valuable new feature is a chronological listing of the documents at the end, which frequently reveals relationships obscured by the fivefold functional arrangement. The editors have not yet decided whether to spell Khrushchev with an *e* or an *o*.

Bennington College

THOMAS BROCKWAY

## Ancient and Medieval

THE WILL OF ZEUS: A HISTORY OF GREECE FROM THE ORIGINS OF HELLENIC CULTURE TO THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER. By *Stringfellow Barr*. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1961. Pp. xvi, 496. \$10.00.) "I was not led to write *The Will of Zeus* by what modern historians have written, much as I owe to them, but by a direct and sometimes shattering encounter with the Greeks themselves. And even then I would not have written but for the hope that I could help bring about direct encounter or re-encounter between the Greeks and my reader, an encounter that would necessarily differ in many ways from my own." Such is the modest and commendable aim of this long and expensive book, on which the author has worked over the past twenty-six years. And yet to me, it seems to fall far short of being an effective stimulus. A selective, personal history of Greece with extensive summaries and quotations from ancient authors, it is still too long, and long winded, to be a useful introduction, and too selective and personal to serve as an annotated anthology. The factual weaknesses and the disavowal of the concerns of modern scholars might not matter (though one wonders why a research associate was needed for three years), if only the author had contributed his own original insights or expressed the familiar in an effective style. Unfortunately I find that he has done neither, and the language is positively distressing with its series of rhetorical questions, its constant anaphora, and, in general, the devices of the lecture hall. Altogether, the results are likely to be disappointing to readers who know the author's literary reputation and have glimpsed his vigorous personality. Perhaps the unfailing fascination of the subject combined with the author's enthusiasm will make this book more attractive to the layman than it is to at least one specialist.

University of Pennsylvania

MICHAEL H. JAMESON

EARLY SPARTA. By *G. L. Huxley*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1962. Pp. 164. \$5.25.) Sparta is a riddle; early Sparta is a riddle wrapped in an enigma. Herodotus and Thucydides were not concerned, but by the fourth century the "mirage Spartiate" was fully developed and remained throughout antiquity. Under the Romans, Sparta became a kind of Williamsburg, and in the only strictly scientific study of it which we have, Kathleen Chrimes worked backward from the reconstruction to the original. Huxley's undertaking is different: to sort out and piece together the early

traditions surviving in more or less garbled form in later writers, so as to recover both the political history and the institutions of the early city. There is a little archaeological evidence too, but this is largely a job of *Quellenforschung* reinforced by imagination, to accomplish what the author calls a little unkindly the "despicable art of rewriting the past." It is ingenious and learned; there are fifty pages of notes to ninety of text, together with a long bibliography "which may serve as a guide to further reading." As a chronological guide he accepts the Olympic victor list compiled by Hippias, as well as the king lists in part, and the tradition of a number of Messenian wars. Sparta's first expansion occurred in the eighth century and resulted not only in the institution of serfdom (the "Helots") and prosperity but also in democracy under the guidance of Lycurgus. This is attested by the original text of the great *rhetra*, at least as emended. Then came the defeat at Hysiae in 669 and a Messenian revolt, Tyrtaeus, militarism, and oligarchy. Presently victorious, Sparta became again prosperous in the culture known from Alcman and the Artemis Orthia temple and throve also from the export of Laconian pottery, but remained oligarchic. The Peloponnesian League was the result of King Cleomenes' achievements in the late sixth century, when poverty and ruggedness of life had occurred because Attic factories had pre-empted the pottery market. Cleomenes, out of favor, brought about a coalition of Arcadians and Messenians, and although he was hastily recalled from exile, the Messenians remained in revolt. And that, as Plato reports, is the reason they were one day late in coming to Marathon in 490. Thus at the time of the Persian Wars, Sparta must "look to the past with pride" for "her political, artistic, and military achievements," even if "her people were not yet dulled by austerity, nor their minds embittered." All this is consistent and reasonable. What proportion of truth may be in it, as Socrates said in the "Apology," is another question. Sparta's primitive democracy seems to me highly dubious, particularly because the fifth-century historians make no distinction in terminology between Spartiates and the *damos*. That Sparta, without any proper money, grew prosperous exporting pottery and otherwise pursuing commercial activities seems also doubtful. As for the Messenian revolt of the early fifth century, Herodotus knew nothing of it, and that has been enough for Jacoby and others. But that none of these things is impossible is equally clear, and we are indebted to the author for presenting so good a case for them. The volume is a real contribution to early Greek history.

Yale University

C. BRADFORD WELLES

PHYLARCHUS AND THE SPARTAN REVOLUTION. By *Thomas W. Africa*. [University of California Publications in History, Volume LXVIII.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1961. Pp. viii, 92. \$2.25.) In the latter part of the third century before Christ, Sparta, hitherto a model of conservative stability, alarmed Greece by the spectacle of a revolution in which debts were abolished, land redistributed, and the number of citizens increased to make the state a militant, formidable power once again. The story of its revolutionary kings, Agis and Cleomenes, was dramatically told by Plutarch, who based his account mainly on that of Phylarchus, the major historian of Greece for the period from 272 to 220 B.C. The history of Phylarchus has not survived, and he is known chiefly through the medium of Plutarch, some trenchant criticism by Polybius, and a variety of short fragments. Out of this material Thomas W. Africa has sought to evaluate Phylarchus' quality as a historian and to gain thereby a better knowledge of the Spartan revolution. With Rostovtzeff, Africa concludes that Phylarchus is trustworthy and regards the revolution as political and nationalistic in character, engineered from above by the kings to strengthen their own position and to restore the power of Sparta. The carefully documented discussion corrects and adds dimension not only to our impression of Phylarchus but to Hellenistic historiography, al-

though Africa's use of an emotionally charged vocabulary and search for epigram sometimes distort rather than clarify (for example, the picture of the Hellenistic world on the first page). Phylarchus' philosophical tone is argued to be Cynic rather than Stoic, for he was an austere puritan who committed himself emotionally to the revolution with its specious revival of Lycurgan Sparta. In the chapter "History and Myth," Africa convincingly defends the validity of Phylarchus' account—its author did not make a historical myth of the revolution. "History and Tragedy" offers a sympathetic discussion of Phylarchus' aim, "the past recaptured, not necessarily the past understood." To me, however, the discussion of Phylarchus as propagandist finds more to criticize in Polybius than to explain in Phylarchus, while the general account of the historian's attitudes in Chapter 1 seems obscured by excessive detail.

*Northwestern University*

CARL ROEBUCK

EINFÜHRUNG IN DAS STUDIUM DER MITTELALTERLICHEN GESCHICHTE. By *Heinz Quirin*. Introduction by *Hermann Heimpel*. (Brunswick: Georg Westermann Verlag, 1961. Pp. 358. DM 28.) While this is Dr. Quirin's book, one must pay careful attention to the introduction by Professor Hermann Heimpel since his remarks provide the conceptual basis on which this *Handbuch* is constructed. Both the introduction and the book make very clear the intensive professionalization and specialization of medieval studies. For Heimpel, it is an illusion to believe that young students can understand "die wissenschaftliche Fachsprache," or that they can, by themselves, enter into "unserer Wissenschaft" by merely entering a large library. What is needed is a guide that will not only answer the elementary questions ("was ist ein Foliant?") but one that will also introduce the beginning student to the many specialized tools of medieval studies. Quirin's text is organized in a number of sections of unequal length. First he provides a concise discussion of "Geschichte als Wissenschaft" which includes an analysis of the internal unity of medieval history as a distinct discipline and of the problems involved in periodization. Most of the text is devoted to "Die Quellen." Here Quirin skillfully displays the virtues of Heimpel's insistence that "alle mittelalterliche Geschichtsforschung ist Philologie." The author provides precise discussions on all of the techniques involved in the analysis and interpretation of medieval sources. The next section is a pithy introduction to some of the secondary literature, periodicals, bibliographies, and the organization and role of archives and libraries. The text is complemented by an *Anhang* which includes some useful examples of medieval Latin textual problems, a very handy list of the more important sources for medieval German history, and a list of documents originating in royal, baronial, and papal chancelleries, with references to modern editions of the texts cited. This valuable survey of medieval studies and the auxiliary disciplines includes a lengthy bibliography, topically arranged. It is a very rich and for the most part a very reliable list of titles, making it very difficult to complain about omissions, but some worthwhile titles of English and American provenance are lacking. Given the very strict orientation of this approach to medieval studies, one will find this guide a most useful contribution which should be included in all scholarly libraries. For American students beginning in medieval studies it is even worth the effort involved in learning German.

*Colorado State University*

HARRY ROSENBERG

A RAZOR FOR A GOAT: A DISCUSSION OF CERTAIN PROBLEMS IN THE HISTORY OF WITCHCRAFT AND DIABOLISM. By *Elliot Rose*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962. Pp. 257. \$4.95.) In the last few years there have been many so-called "scholarly" books about medieval witchcraft. While none of the books have, to my knowledge, been written by professional historians, they have been accepted



by a large part of the reading public as a true historical account of witchcraft. It is for this reason that the work by Elliot Rose, a historian at the University of Toronto, is of importance. The chief difficulty with any such study is that there is very little detailed information about what "witches" actually believed or practiced. This has led to much conjecture by almost all writers on the subject, and Rose is no exception. He does, however, clearly label what is known and what is conjecture, and in general his reasoning is based on logic and common sense. He is at his best when demonstrating the fallacies and misuse of historical data by such writers as Margaret Murray or Montagu Summers. He starts with the assumption that there were witches in the medieval period, but that these witches were responding to societal beliefs about witchcraft; as a result witchcraft changed its form periodically to incorporate what a new generation believed about witches. The origins of witchcraft can probably be found in a continued survival of various pagan practices, which were everywhere different in detail but often had certain things in common such as empirical spell peddling. This rather harmless paganism was forced into a sort of uniformity by the Christian Church itself, which after encounters with the Albigensians and Waldensians tended to build up a uniform picture of the followers of Satan. This picture, based in part on misinterpretation of earlier literature, was gradually percolated down to the people through sermons, wandering students, plays, manuals, and other means of communication, so that the people who were accused of witchcraft knew how to respond, and would-be witches knew how to act. The witch continually changed as new concepts appeared; thus the idea of the Black Mass, at least as popularly understood, was a later innovation. While much of what Rose says has to be based on conjecture, it is conjecture that is much more solidly based on the historical process than the imaginative writings of many other investigators in the field. It is possible to disagree with some of his conclusions without denying the contribution that he has made to a neglected, by scholars at least, subject. There are two other minor criticisms of the book. The author has a rather involuted style which is hard to follow and often causes one to puzzle out what he is trying to say, and second, his book is filled with colloquialisms, some of which are of doubtful taste.

*San Fernando Valley State College*

VERN L. BULLOUGH

THE COLLECTED PAPERS IN CHURCH HISTORY. Series I, EARLY AND MEDIEVAL CHRISTIANITY. By *Roland H. Bainton*. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1962. Pp. ix, 261. \$6.00.) Few American scholars have exerted as great an influence on the development of church history as Roland H. Bainton, who has been teaching at Yale Divinity School since 1920 and has been Titus Street Professor of Ecclesiastical History since 1936. The publication in a single volume of his articles which appeared in historical and theological journals from 1923 to 1955 provides us not only with a well-rounded discussion of various aspects of medieval and Renaissance Christianity but also with a fascinating index to the development of an influential scholar. *Early and Medieval Christianity* is divided into the following three sections: "Patristic and Medieval Christianity," "Continuities and Changes from Medieval to Renaissance Christianity," and "Religion and the Church in the Renaissance." Among the most seminal contributions are his discussions of "Ideas of History in Patristic Christianity," "The Ministry in the Middle Ages," "Religious Liberty and the Parable of the Tares," and "Changing Ideas and Ideals in the Sixteenth Century." Here, as in all his writings, Bainton evinces those qualities that appeal to the historian and layman alike: a thorough scholarship related to the vital issues of our own day and an incisive and fascinating style. Like the historical figures which have appealed to him most, he is above all a superb teacher who follows his own dictum that "The purpose of scholarship is to feed scholarship." He often states in a terse, epigrammatic phrase thoughts that are easily grasped and retained. In

speaking of the highly versatile man of the Renaissance, for example, he states that he "can fight, dance, swim, hunt, woo, and warble." For him "War becomes a strategy, business is bookkeeping, statecraft is diplomacy, art is perspective." The volume contains a full critical apparatus, an index, and a complete bibliography of the author's publications.

*Ohio State University*

HAROLD J. GRIMM

WESTERN VIEWS OF ISLAM IN THE MIDDLE AGES. By R. W. Southern. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1962. Pp. 114. \$3.25.) This book consists of a series of lectures delivered at Harvard University in the spring of 1961 on the general subject of Islam as viewed in Western Europe during the Middle Ages. It is divided into three chapters and covers the period from the seventh century to approximately the middle of the sixteenth. From the first part of this period to about the first quarter of the twelfth century Western Europe knew very little of Islam, and that little was interpreted on the basis of Biblical history or prophecy or was the subject of the imagination. Thus Bede developed the theory which long prevailed that the Saracens were the descendants of Hagar, while Spaniards saw in Islam a preparation for the final appearance of antichrist. The First Crusade brought Westerners into closer contact with the Moslems, but the picture of Islam that resulted was the product of fancy rather than knowledge. The spread of knowledge of Moslem science and philosophy in the twelfth century and the discovery, largely as the result of the appearance of the Mongols in the thirteenth century, that there were other peoples and faiths led to the belief that Islam was in reality not very different from Christianity (Rubroek) and that it could be won over by means of philosophy (Roger Bacon). Both of these views, however, were gradually abandoned in the fourteenth century. The hope persisted, though, that the problem of Islam might be solved in favor of Christianity either by a conference (John of Segovia and Nicholas of Cusa), by a crusade (Jean Germain), or perhaps by the conversion of Mahomet II, the great Ottoman conqueror (Aeneas Silvius). In the end, however, all hope had to be abandoned. The book is a masterly introduction to the subject. There are few notes and these primarily to secondary works, but the author delved deeply into the sources.

*Rutgers University*

PETER CHARANIS

DER KAISER UND DIE NORDISCHE UNION BIS ZU DEN BURGUNDER-KRIEGEN. By Vilho Niitemaa. [Suomalaisen Tiedeakatemian Toimituksia, Series B, Number 116.] (Helsinki: the Academy. 1960. Pp. 362. 1,800 mk.) The Finnish scholar Vilho Niitemaa has previously devoted his studies to problems in Scandinavian and Baltic history. In this book he moves to one of the centers of action in medieval Europe, the German Empire. His study deals with the diplomatic relations between the emperor and the three Scandinavian kingdoms, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. He goes back to the epoch of Charlemagne, which is as far as the sources permit him, and carries his study to 1475. He finds the relationship shifting from one of feudal overlordship when the Scandinavian kingdoms were weak and divided, to one of close collaboration and coalition when they presented a strong and united front under the Nordic Union begun by Queen Margrethe. The late medieval period was one of decline for the Empire and ascendancy for the Scandinavian Union. During the reigns of the Emperor Frederick III and the Union King Christian I in the mid-fifteenth century the two powers seemed almost equal and the relationship therefore of greatest interest. It is with good reason that the author devotes almost a third of his book to this period. He promises a continuation covering the last fifty years of the Scandinavian Union to 1523 when Denmark-Norway and Sweden went their separate ways. The book is of interest to the



Scandinavian, and especially the Danish, historian but even more so to the student of the late German Empire. By focusing on the North, the author has been able to discern a purposeful and effective imperial policy during a period otherwise characterized by confusion and disorder.

Baltimore, Maryland

JENNY JOCHENS

SON OF CHARLEMAGNE: A CONTEMPORARY LIFE OF LOUIS THE PIOUS. Translated, with an introduction and notes, by *Allen Cabaniss*. (Syracuse, N. Y.: Syracuse University Press. 1961. Pp. 182. \$4.50.) Professor Cabaniss has performed a genuine service in providing an English version of the so-called "Astronomer's" biography of Louis the Pious. His perceptive introduction characterizes the anonymous author very well and supplies solid justification for translating an often severely criticized source for Carolingian history. The translation as a whole reads well and retains some of the flavor of the original. On occasion one might question the rendering of particular words (for example, "perspicacissimus Karolus" as "sharp-sighted . . . Charles," "assiduos duosque . . . conflictus" as "unremitting and costly campaigns"), but such cases are few and minor. Perhaps a work that helps to show Louis's importance in his own right deserved a more suitable title than *Son of Charlemagne*.

Michigan State University

RICHARD E. SULLIVAN

FROM ALFRED TO HENRY III, 871-1272. By *Christopher Brooke*. [A History of England, Volume II.] (New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons. 1961. Pp. xii, 276. \$5.00.) *The Oxford History of England*, having stumbled to its appointed end of tedium and confusion, the younger generation of historians in England has set about producing a new multivolume history of England, under the editorship of Christopher Brooke and Denis Mack Smith. Brooke's own contribution is the third volume in the series to appear. His credentials are impressive: Brooke has published some very valuable articles on the medieval English Church, and he has demonstrated high capacity as a scholar in his edition of the letters of John of Salisbury. This is his first attempt, however, at a broad work of synthesis. In view of the ambitions of the series to go beyond the antiquated limitations of Establishment history and Brooke's promising background, the severe shortcomings of this volume are all the more disappointing. It may accurately be described as suitable mainly for high school and freshman college readers and not worth the serious attention of readers of this *Review*. More than half of the volume is devoted to straight narrative history, jumping from reign to reign, and describing the activities of medieval English kings in a pleasant chatty way, as though one were talking about the virtues and foibles of one's uncles and cousins. The chapters given over to structural analysis (feudalism, the Church, and so forth) are almost totally lacking in new ideas and insights. Only in a dozen-page discussion of the manor is there—not a new interpretation—but some flicker of that perception which blazes from almost every page written by great medieval historians like Bloch and Tellenbach. Even the bibliography which (if nothing else) was always full and valuable in the Oxford series is here extremely conventional, cursory, and useless except for the novice. The reason for the failure of this volume as a work of interpretive history lies in the nature of current English historiography. Having contemptuously refused to use the concepts and problems suggested by the social and psychological sciences, the younger generation of English historians, even when they reject the nominalism that inspired the *Oxford History*, have no questions to bring to the study of the past except the one of what happened next; they have no avenues of approach, no way of relating the reigns of Alfred or Henry II to the broad problems of human experience.

Columbia University

NORMAN F. CANTOR

THE ENGLISH BOROUGH AND ROYAL ADMINISTRATION, 1130-1307. By *Charles R. Young*. (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1961. Pp. x, 175. \$6.00.) The outcome of a doctoral thesis undertaken at the suggestion of the late Carl Stephenson on the place of boroughs in the administrative system of twelfth- and thirteenth-century England viewed as a whole, this book is an essay rather than in any way an exhaustive monograph. Although the author is slightly apologetic, and rightly so, for basing it solely on printed sources, he feels that further research would not have altered his conclusions. These are sharpened by attack on what is something of a straw man, the notion that the borough has been represented "as a kind of island estranged from the main flow of governmental activity and the society around it." This impression is taken from Erwin T. Meyer's chapter in *The English Government at Work*, Volume III (1950). Meyer invented it to sharpen his own thesis, which is in turn borrowed from principles pointed out by Pollock and Maitland in 1898, making for their conclusion that boroughs were "far more often the bearers of duties than of rights." Meyer believed that the previous method of delegating miscellaneous royal business to elected borough officials or to individual burgesses was strengthened early in the fourteenth century by assigning duties of county officers and of royal officers, such as escheators, to such persons. Young feels now that Meyer overinterpreted the extent of the change. His essay argues, reasonably enough, that the duties laid on burgesses had long been tending to increase, roughly keeping pace with the growing ramification of royal administrative power from the 1130's on. His method is to illustrate the increasing variety of responsibilities that were laid on citizens rather than to prove a quantitative growth in the burden of any particular type of work. He is able also to conclude that A. B. White also overstretched his idea that in using their subjects in administrative work the medieval kings gave them unwittingly an education in self-government. The illustrations that Young has collected are not of duties that offered much share in decision making. Burgesses were for the most part enlisted as administrative chore boys. The most interesting but least adequate part of the essay is in the first two chapters, which discuss the problem of the source of the king's legal authority over borough officials. Meyer had asserted that elected officers of royal boroughs had naturally been regarded as royal servants. Young finds them jointly responsible to the king and to their fellow citizens and wonders why this was so. I do not feel that a historian should be reproached for raising more questions than he can answer. This particular question is perhaps inflated by the ghost of liberalism that has so long stalked medieval constitutional history. But it is to be hoped that the author will explore it further with the aid of wider reading in legal theory and local history than his bibliography displays. He does not discuss oaths of office, and he does not list even so important a book as William Page's *London: Its Origin and Early Development*.

*University of Michigan*

SYLVIA L. THRUPP

THE MEDIEVAL CORONER. By *R. F. Hunnisett*. [Cambridge Studies in English Legal History.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1961. Pp. xiii, 217. \$5.50.) The figure of the coroner presiding over inquests is familiar throughout the English-speaking world not only to lawyers and other experts in common law but also to the host of readers of detective fiction. Rather surprisingly, Hunnisett's book is the first systematic treatment of the office for any part of the eight hundred years of its existence. It is more comprehensive and more thorough than the "brief history of the office" which Gross presented in the introduction to his *Select Cases from the Coroners' Rolls, 1265-1413* (1896). The author has examined not only coroners' rolls and files but also eyre rolls, King's Bench rolls, and records of the Exchequer and Chancery. He has resisted the temptation to make facile generalizations at the expense of factual accuracy. The

result is a valuable source of information for serious students of medieval administration and a worthy addition to a distinguished series. Two general points emerge in the author's careful discussion. One is that both statutes and legal treatises mislead the student of the office. The records do not sustain the generalizations they make, especially about the duties of the office. Details about numbers of coroners, size of districts covered, qualifications for the office, election procedures, period of tenure, and practice in the office vary so from county to county that, as Hunnisett comments, the Chancery clerks who issued the king's commands must often have been in doubt as to correct procedure. Many boroughs held the right to elect their own coroners and, to some extent, control their performance. The office was often attached to a private franchise. The early history of the office illustrates not only characteristic medieval diversity and complexity but also the perennial problem of medieval administration, that of getting good crown servants without paying for them. Hunnisett's corrections of earlier discussions of the office are many. They relate mainly to the origin and the duties of the office; they are carefully reasoned and documented and deserve more than the brief summary possible in this review.

Rutgers University

MARGARET HASTINGS

THE MEDIEVAL UNIVERSITY, 1200-1400. By Lowrie J. Daly, S.J. With an introduction by Pearl Kibre. (New York: Sheed and Ward. 1961. Pp. xiv, 241. \$5.00.) Based on standard secondary materials and intended primarily for American undergraduates, this book is a popular account of medieval universities. As such it fulfills its purpose well, except for its lack of an adequate index. The first chapter deals with early medieval education and university beginnings, the second with the governmental organization of Paris and Bologna, the third with university textbooks, the fourth with the scholastic *cursus honorum*, the fifth with student life, and the sixth with the place of the university in the medieval world. As helps for students, the volume contains as well brief lists of additional readings and a few documents. Apparently also intended as aids for students are the numerous comparisons with aspects of modern American education. References to the medieval student as a "young freshman" or a "teaching-fellow" or to "food and liquor stores near the campus" seem a little forced, but this is a readable book. The third chapter, moreover, gives a useful quick look at some of the materials on which medieval education was based. There are a few major gaps. Very little is said of the juridical status and place of the university of masters or scholars in the great hierarchy of medieval *universitates*, ranging from trade guilds to universal church, or of the variety and mingling of motivations and social background among its members which made it such a creative example of medieval corporationalism. There is also no mention of Averroists and other heretics or of the limits a nervous church imposed on *libertas scolastica*. Father Daly's volume is more elaborate and informative than C. H. Haskins' thirty-year-old but still inimitably delightful lectures on *The Rise of Universities*, which were also directed to undergraduates. When, however, one looks at Daly's lists of additional readings, all in English, and then at Haskins' short bibliographical note containing works in English, French, Italian, and German, one can only contrast sadly Daly's evident conviction of the growing linguistic illiteracy of American students with the relative competence of their medieval forebears, who, after all, knew at least one language besides their own.

Tulane University

CHARLES T. DAVIS

THE PAPAL STATE IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY. By Daniel Waley. (New York: St Martin's Press. 1961. Pp. xv, 355. \$12.00.) By emphasizing the extraordinary lack of adequate works on the Papal State of the thirteenth century, this book immediately justifies itself. With the exception of S. Sugenheim's *Geschichte der*

*Entstehung und Ausbildung des Kirchenstaates*, published more than a century ago, no general work on the subject exists. Waley directs attention to the abundant source materials available, notwithstanding the almost complete loss of the provincial archives. He notes especially communal documents, letters, miscellaneous parchments, papal registers, and, in some instances, summaries of materials from provincial archives incorporated in works such as Collucci's *Antichità Picene*, Zonghi's *Carte Diplomatiche Fabrianesi*, and others. He offers the plausible suggestion that the copiousness of these materials "may explain the passing of more than a century since the appearance of the last general work on the medieval Papal State." The book is not definitive, nor is it a synthesis of "many monographs, for unfortunately such studies are almost entirely lacking." The author limits his investigation to three aspects of the subject: the papal attempt to rule central Italy; the policies and methods employed; the reasons for the failure of these policies and methods. The reader may often feel that the author might well have permitted himself to move more freely into the numerous bypaths emanating from the main lines of his investigation. At times also one is constrained to inquire: was there, indeed, a Papal State prior to the collapse of the Hohenstaufen Empire? Waley finds that the "first real Papal State" had its beginning in the "power vacuum" in central Italy which followed the death of Henry VI. One suspects, however, that in this observation Waley tends to perpetuate the dictum or half-truth of Leopold von Ranke that "the heir of Henry VI was Innocent III." Even with the advantages accruing to the Holy See at that time the popes still lacked "the administrative and military strength to secure obedience. . . ." The attempt to regularize the administration of the five major provinces through rectors, treasurers, judges, parliaments, and, at times, *missi* and cardinal legates was not successful. The effort to preserve a "normal provincial structure of papal rule" was abandoned in the decade of the 1240's. While there were numerous specific causes of this failure, they appear in general to fall within one of four categories: the inability of the *curia* to establish an effective basis for temporal rule without outside assistance entailing sacrifice of authority; rivalry with the Hohenstaufens and, later, with the Angevins; the pretensions of and conflicts with the Romans; the growth of autonomy within individual communes. Admirable as the book is within the limits of its threefold plan, its most "solid and useful contributions" are the two appendixes listing the officials and parliaments of the Papal State. These features alone should serve to make it a useful, if not an indispensable tool for future researchers on this subject.

Bowdoin College

THOMAS C. VAN CLEVE

THE ENGLISH CUSTOMS SERVICE, 1307-1343: A STUDY OF MEDIEVAL ADMINISTRATION. By Robert L. Baker. [Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, Volume LI, Part 6.] (Philadelphia: the Society. 1961. Pp. 76. \$2.25.) Professor Baker sets out to examine the level of efficiency achieved by English kings in local administration, and he uses the customs service as a sort of microcosm of the whole. The customs service is another instance of "unpaid service at royal command [which] had become the established tradition in local administration." The problem it posed was how to reconcile royal interests with local pressures, the inevitable tendency of unpaid local officials "to seek to keep the good will of their relatives, friends, and neighbors rather than to compel the collectors to enforce trade regulations and to account for every penny owed to the king." The history of the customs service from 1307 to 1343 is a chronicle of failure on the part of the central government to supervise effectively local administration, and it ends in the freezing of customs revenue in the latter year and in a resort to farming. Baker has explored fully the primary sources in the Public Record Office and the relevant secondary material. He discusses the unreformed service (1307-1330), the attempted reform (1331-1335), and its failure (1336-

1343). There are useful appendixes on wool exports, names of customs officials, and on the execution of staple and subsidy policies. The author has made a valuable addition to the studies in the three volumes of *The English Government at Work, 1327-1336* (1940-1950).

Emory University

G. P. CUTTINO

LA GUERRE DE CENT ANS VUE À TRAVERS LES REGISTRES DU PARLEMENT (1337-1369). By *Pierre-Clément Timbal et al.* Preface by *André Chamson*. [Groupe d'étude d'histoire juridique.] (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique. 1961. Pp. 560. 52 N. F.) The product of the collaboration of Professor Timbal and the archivists of the Archives Nationales, this volume was sponsored by the *Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique* and is announced as representing a marriage between the methods of the *Faculté de Droit et des Sciences Économiques* and that of the *École des Chartes*. This marriage seems to consist of a team of archivists systematically searching the rich archives of the parlement de Paris under the direction of Madame Metman and preparing critical editions of selected decisions made during the fourteenth century. Timbal has taken these documents, organized them topically rather than chronologically in accordance with the practice of the *Faculté de Droit*, and prepared brief introductory and concluding statements to each based on the work of other historians. The 131 published documents that make up over half the volume are thus interspersed throughout and thoroughly integrated into the text rather than being published at the end as *pièces justificatives*. The work of the archivists is beyond reproach and that of the author quite adequate although one could wish that he had used Lyon as well as Sczaniecki on *fiefs-rentes* and Strayer and Taylor as well as Vuitry and Viard on taxation. This volume is concerned with military affairs: recruitment, transport, supplies, the defense of châteaux and towns, military operations on land and sea, status of prisoners, and a variety of problems growing out of the Peace of Bretigny. Later volumes will deal with other matters. These volumes will unquestionably become a major source for the study of fourteenth-century France, but grateful as one is for their publication one cannot help wondering whether a greater service would not have been rendered if the archivists had devoted their time to preparing a calendar on the English model or at least a detailed inventory of the archives of parlement so that historians could use this rich source of information for whatever purpose they wished and not be dependent on a selection of documents made by others.

Emory University

J. RUSSELL MAJOR

JOHANNIS WYCLYF: TRACTATUS DE TRINITATE. Edited with critical introduction and notes by *Allen duPont Breck*. [Studies and Texts in Medieval Thought.] ([Boulder:] University of Colorado Press. 1962. Pp. liv, 196. \$6.50.) This is the third book to appear in the University of Colorado series Studies and Texts in Medieval Thought. Professor S. H. Thomson and the university press apparently hope to complete (or at least continue) the publication of Wyclif's writings, a project the Wyclif Society unfortunately felt obliged to discontinue in 1924. Mr. Breck's scholarly edition of Wyclif's *Tractatus de Trinitate* (enhanced with introduction, bibliography, and indexes) will undoubtedly promote current interest in the thought of the leading scholastic of that day. Through the patient efforts of scholars like Breck, something so characteristic of the "waning Middle Ages" as its scholasticism will one day find an honored place beside the art and literature of the period.

Pennsylvania State University

JOSEPH H. DAHMUS

THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE: THE UNIFICATION OF THE CHURCH. Translated by *Louise Ropes Loomis*. Edited and annotated by *John Hine Mundy* and



*Kennerly M. Woody.* [Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies, Number 63.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1961. Pp. xiii, 562. \$10.00.) These translations, prepared by Louise Ropes Loomis and ably edited and annotated after her death by Mundy and Woody, form a valuable addition to the Columbia Records series. The most substantial work included is Cardinal Fillastre's *Diary of the Council of Constance*, a source of prime importance for the history of the Council. This is supplemented by two shorter works, Richental's *Chronicle* and Cerretano's *Journal*. All three sources are presented with some abridgments which are justified by the purpose of the volume. The only really serious omission, the long sections of Fillastre's *Diary* dealing with the case of John Hus, is explained by the preparation of an independent volume on Hus for the same series. Woody has provided a helpful account of the organization and procedure of the Council, and Mundy contributes a general introductory essay on the conciliar movement, which is alert and stimulating, though I would differ on some points of emphasis. In particular it seems to me that, while the factors of "nationalism" and "secularism" can serve to explain the failure of conciliarism, they hardly provide an adequate explanation of the phenomenon itself.

*Cornell University*

BRIAN TIERNEY

THE JUDGEMENTS OF JOAN: JOAN OF ARC, A STUDY IN CULTURAL HISTORY. By *Charles Wayland Lightbody*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1961. Pp. 189. \$5.50.) To trace the changing image of an important and controversial personage in historical literature is a fascinating subject for historiography. Among the great number of candidates for such a study Joan of Arc presents some of the most interesting possibilities. In this book Mr. Lightbody proposes to trace the various views of Joan as seen by historians who wrote during her lifetime up until the trial of rehabilitation in 1456. The ultimate purpose of such a study is to use the image of Joan in historical literature to mirror the intellectual atmosphere of the period. Unfortunately the author has yielded to the seductions of his heroine, and he has not always been faithful to his original and avowed purpose. The opening chapter presents Joan's historical importance in language so extravagant that few of the imaginable clichés are left unsaid. In following chapters Lightbody turns to a more sober account of the Armagnac, Burgundian, and foreign chroniclers and finally to the trial of rehabilitation. But even here one often has the impression that he is more interested in the truth about the girl than in the historical accounts themselves and the intellectual scene they reflect. As a matter of fact, I believe that Lightbody himself should be ranked among those chroniclers he is studying, and most likely he would feel more at home among the Armagnacs. The final chapter, an epilogue, sketches Joan's subsequent career in historical writing and literature from 1456 to the present and serves as an outline for a promised second volume. It is to be hoped that in the next volume, as the author moves into a later period, he will be less susceptible to his heroine and more to his subject.

*Johns Hopkins University*

JOHN W. BALDWIN

## Modern

### UNITED KINGDOM AND IRELAND

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE HISTORY OF WALES. Prepared by the History and Law Committee of the Board of Celtic Studies of the University of Wales. (2d ed.; Cardiff: University of Wales Press. 1962. Pp. xviii, 330. 45s.) This is a careful, useful, rather overelegant arrangement of materials on Welsh history from the pre-

historic period to 1914. The first two sections are general, covering bibliographical, biographical, and topographical matters, with attention to descriptions of local occupations. From that point, the book is divided chronologically into seven sections; each section contains the sources and secondary writings on political, ecclesiastical, social, and economic history. Where the material is particularly rich, there are sections on literary, municipal, and family histories. For the modern period (1789 to 1914), there are an extensive bibliography on education, public and private, and material on adult education. The entire bibliography has been brought up to date with considerable care. For students of the Welsh language, many articles are listed which are closed to readers limited to the more conventional English tongue. Even from a bibliography like this one, one is struck again by the separateness of this region from England proper—separateness in social, economic, intellectual, and religious spheres. Only in the period since 1914, which is not covered here, might one see the degree to which a real union has been effected.

*Wesleyan University*

R. L. COLIE

PARLIAMENT THROUGH SEVEN CENTURIES: READING AND ITS M.P.'S. By *A. Aspinall et al.* (London: Cassell for the Hansard Society; distrib. by Oxford University Press, New York. 1962. Pp. x, 126. \$4.00.) Professor Aspinall and his colleagues in modern history at the University of Reading have written, in the Namier tradition, a brief parliamentary history of Reading from 1295 to the present. Intended for the general reader, it will also interest the specialist in English constitutional history. The early chapters, which are devoted to the period from 1295 to 1601 (the last Elizabethan Parliament), explain how Reading's representatives were chosen and list the members returned with a description of their wealth and standing in the borough. Conclusions are drawn wherever the meager materials permit; the reader learns, for example, that townsmen of standing in the community were usually returned until the sixteenth century when they were replaced by the gentry. By the end of that century the influence of both the Knollys family of Oxfordshire and the Blagrave family of Berkshire was making itself felt. The rise of the gentry to political power was a national movement. Somewhat unexpectedly, at this point, the conclusion is offered that "the Government found itself confronted in the Commons more and more by men of substance rather than by the more pliable townsmen of an earlier age." But no examples were supplied earlier of pliability in Reading's medieval representatives though the general statement was several times repeated that townsmen of the more discreet and able sort requested in the parliamentary writ of 1295 were commonly returned. The influence of the gentry lasted until well into the nineteenth century, and at one time during this period Reading was classed as one of the most corrupt boroughs in the kingdom. In the later chapters the author has drawn a memorable distinction between the member independent of party before the Reform Act of 1867 and the member subordinate to party afterward. The change is dramatized when the last chapter centers, not, as earlier chapters, on the individual member representing Reading, but on the effect of successive reform acts on his parliamentary constituency including the party changes. In fact, the reader is compelled to turn to an appendix to discover who represented Reading after 1867.

*University of Houston*

CORINNE COMSTOCK WESTON

ARCHITECT AND PATRON: A SURVEY OF PROFESSIONAL RELATIONS AND PRACTICE IN ENGLAND FROM THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY TO THE PRESENT DAY. By *Frank Jenkins*. [University of Durham Publications.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1961. Pp. xvi, 254. \$5.60.) England is justly famous for its



beautiful and historic architecture, exemplified by cathedrals, colleges, public buildings, and country houses. A quick survey of Sir Banister Fletcher's *A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method for Students, Craftsmen, & Amateurs* will give one an idea of the richness and diversity of the architectural monuments of the past. Since the publication of Fletcher's volume, architectural literature has been enriched by L. F. Salzman's *Building in England down to 1540* (1952), Sir John Summerson's *Architecture in Britain, 1530-1830* (1953), Howard Colvin's *Biographical Dictionary of English Architects, 1660-1840* (1954), W. R. Lethaby's *Form in Civilization* (1957), and Barrington Kaye's *The Development of the Architectural Profession in Britain* (1960). We also have in the Penguin Books the work of J. M. Richards, *An Introduction to Modern Architecture* (1940). Mr. Jenkins has given us a study of the architect and his work from Tudor times to the present. He discusses the role of craftsmen, patrons, and surveyors in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Worthy of mention are their creations, such as Nonesuch Palace, the mansion at Longleat, and Hatfield House. Inigo Jones, who became Surveyor of the King's Works in 1615, reflected the theory of his Italian masters, Andrea Palladio and V. Scamozzi. By the eighteenth century the court had lost its cultural leadership, but the lack was supplied by bankers, merchants, nabobs, and gentlemen-farmers. These men proved the thesis of Lord Burghley that "gentility is but ancient riches," but this is not the whole story. Methodists, who were neither gentle nor rich, built about 360 chapels by 1785. In the nineteenth century the importance for architecture of individual security, leisure, and wealth is apparent, but unions built workhouses, Catholics and Nonconformists erected churches, and railway companies constructed great terminal stations. Jenkins has described the early system of pupilage and the growth of architectural societies, schools, institutes, and academies. The changes from Tudor surveyor to modern architect, and the development of instruments, magazines, books, and taste, are embodied in the appearance of such institutions as the Royal Society of Arts (1754), the Royal Academy of Arts (1768), the Architects' Club (1791), the Surveyors' Club (1792), the London Architectural Society (1806), the Institute of British Architects (1835), and the Architectural Museum (1851). Today there are approximately 28,000 regular architects and 25 schools of architecture in Great Britain. Perhaps a weakness of the book is its inclusion of too many names. Inigo Jones, Christopher Wren, John Soane, and George Gilbert Scott are frequently mentioned, but the information given is tantalizingly scattered. Lesser names occur—sometimes eight in a page—but the information is limited to a line or two. The book is heavily factual, informative, and clear. There are ten well-chosen plates and a good index.

Claremont Graduate School

LELAND H. CARLSON

A LIFE OF ARCHBISHOP PARKER. By V. J. K. Brook. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1962. Pp. 358. \$5.60.) The first full-length study of Archbishop Parker to appear in over fifty years, this book gives a clear, factual account of Matthew Parker's public life. It is a sympathetic biography, but not one conceived in the Baconian spirit of "perfect history." Essentially it is an instructive tribute to Parker, rather than a reassessment of his historical significance. Students of the period will find the book useful: it sticks closely to the sources and illuminates the difficulties and dilemmas of those responsible for implementing the Elizabethan church settlement. Within the limits set by the author the book is successful. It tells, with a minimum of comment and interpretation, what happened. The best sections are those dealing with doctrinal and administrative problems. The author praises the tolerance, firmness, and sense of responsibility of Parker, who was often criticized, but not often closely supported in his efforts to deal with intransigent papists and puritans. What the author does not do

is examine the larger issues of historical interpretation. Parker had difficulty (although he could usually count on Cecil's friendly advice) in getting royal authorization to enforce church discipline. The Articles of 1563 did not receive statutory sanction until 1571. With the emergence of a Puritan party, and with a serious Catholic threat after 1570, Parker felt more and more that he was being indifferently supported by the Queen. The author sympathizes with Parker, but does not explain why Parker's moderation failed to halt the spread of Puritanism. The book has been written primarily from printed sources, and it offers little in the way of bibliographical guidance. The crucial economic problems of the Church receive only passing comment, and Parker's antiquarian interests are somewhat perfunctorily handled. Although this book is not definitive, it can and should be recommended as a standard modern work.

Reed College

F. SMITH FUSSNER

JOHN JEWEL AND THE PROBLEM OF DOCTRINAL AUTHORITY. By *W. M. Southgate*. [Harvard Historical Monographs, Number 49.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1962. Pp. xii, 236. \$4.75.) Professor Southgate has set out to write the life and analyze the writings of John Jewel, the Elizabethan bishop of Salisbury and author of the *Apology* for the Anglican Church. The brief biography is welcome, for it is the first since Bishop Creighton's in the *DNB*. But it does not add appreciably to our knowledge. Although he has worked in England, Southgate has been able to find only one manuscript worth citing, and, although he discusses Jewel's work in diocesan governance, he has apparently not used the diocesan archives. He also seems to underestimate the importance of Jewel's position as nearly the only moderate churchman, aside from Archbishop Parker, among the early Elizabethan prelates. (Was Jewel's education at Oxford rather than Cambridge responsible for his unwillingness to join the more radical Puritans?) In examining Jewel's thought, Southgate, with some perspicacity, singles out the problem of doctrinal authority for special attention, demonstrating Jewel's reliance on both the Bible and the tradition of the early Church, particularly the patristic writers. He very properly attempts to relate Jewel's position to that of the continental reformers, although several digressions about Calvinism seem scarcely necessary, and he justly criticizes the Roman Catholic prejudices of Father Hughes, although his own Anglican bias is not completely hidden. The book is a good introduction but not the definitive study one might have desired. The author's style, like the Harvard Press's typography, is serviceable but flat.

University of Texas

STANFORD E. LEHMBERG

THE CATHOLICS IN CAROLINE ENGLAND. By *Martin J. Havran*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1962. Pp. ix, 208. \$4.75.) Professor Havran has written a short and readable essay on English Catholics in the reign of Charles I. He has scanned all the important secondary material and made good use of the principal manuscript collections, particularly those in the archives of Westminster Cathedral. After a brief sketch of Elizabethan and Jacobean Catholicism, Havran goes on to describe the court of Henrietta Maria (a damning picture of frivolity and childish folly); parliamentary policy from 1625 to 1629; missionary activity; persecution and the enforcement of the penal laws (he concludes that persecution continued as before, especially in the country, in spite of the protection of the Queen and the more lenient policy of the royal government); the Catholic revival in London, led by Henrietta Maria, in the late 1630's; and, finally, the effect of the Scottish war on the fortune of English Catholics. All this is well done and informative. The essay's weakness, largely inevitable owing to the paucity of source materials, is its thinness. Havran can tell us that three Catholics were executed for their religion under Charles I, but he cannot tell us how many were

imprisoned, fined, or otherwise molested by the law or by Protestant mobs. Nor does he give us any full accounts of the experiences of individuals, although he says, in the abstract, that Catholics "undoubtedly suffered the visceral tensions, the frustrations, and the mental depression of those whose principles are under attack." Havran does not comment on the analogy between the position of Catholicism in Caroline England and Communism in modern America, but the reader cannot fail to note some obvious parallels: the compiling of lists, some fake, some accurate, of Catholics in high office; confusion between real and imagined conspiracies; passport restrictions; oaths; apostates turned informers; the search for scapegoats. The government of Charles I does not suffer by the comparison.

*Rutgers University*

RICHARD SCHLATTER

THE LEVELLERS AND THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION. By *H. N. Brailsford*. Edited and prepared for publication by *Christopher Hill*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1961. Pp. xvi, 715. \$10.00.) There is much to admire in Brailsford's posthumous work. Painstaking research, scrupulous scholarship, organizing skill, and honesty of conviction have gone into it. The book is written with Brailsford's characteristic verve, sometimes with power and eloquence. In the Levellers the author has selected one of the most stirring themes in Western intellectual history for his major historical venture. The manuscript has been edited by Christopher Hill with a fidelity that makes the finished product a worthy memento of its author. Brailsford pays generous tribute to historians who have dealt with the seventeenth century, expressing "a gratitude that borders on veneration" for Gardiner and Firth, and indicating how his own labors had been lightened "immeasurably" by the work of many scholars on both sides of the Atlantic. He drew on them all, however, for his own essentially unhistorical purposes. As his editor puts it, "He thought of this book not as a mere history, but as a profoundly political study, which would convey a message from him to the younger generation." Thus, once he had acquired over those two mid-seventeenth-century decades a mastery that no pedant could contest, he reconstructed their history according to his moral design. It matters little, therefore, that he made no use of several important books, particularly those published between 1954 and the author's death in 1958; they would not have changed his "message." There is evidence of Brailsford's familiarity with the professional historian's preoccupations. He knew that "communism" had a different meaning in the seventeenth century from that of today and that "thinking in those days was dominated by religion," but for him these were perfunctory observations. Brailsford did not try to make this kind of historical thinking an integral part of his analysis. He never really grappled with the difficult historical problems raised by the appearance of the Levellers. He was incapable of doing so because he was incorrigibly present minded about those conditions that excited his righteous anger—class divisions, social injustice, Right-wing totalitarianism. It follows that Brailsford's long book provides no new insights into the mystery of the Leveller movement which suddenly exposed the hitherto inarticulate longings of many Englishmen and exhibited extraordinary prescience, and, at the same time, was protean, insubstantial, and eventually ephemeral in nature. Apart from his cognizance of the concept of the "gathered church," Brailsford makes little attempt to relate the religious convictions of the Puritan sects, such as their millenarian tendencies, to his investigation of the Levellers. The moral superiority of the leading Levellers, however, is throughout the book contrasted with the tainted motives of Cromwell and all the other opponents of the Levellers. Moreover, Brailsford's deficiency in historical-mindedness accounts for a serious confusion at crucial points in his analysis. He asserts that the Levellers failed because they did not see that social revolution in the countryside was essential to their success, but

he becomes indignant about Lilburne's being mistaken for a social egalitarian. The question is not only whether Brailsford's is good history. Is it even effective secular hagiography?

*University of Rochester*

WILLSON H. COATES

FREE-BORN JOHN: A BIOGRAPHY OF JOHN LILBURNE. By *Pauline Gregg*. (London: George G. Harrap and Company. 1961. Pp. 424. 30s.) Dr. Gregg provides a sound, sensible account of the great Leveller's career, a marked advance on the older biography by M. A. Gibb. She offers a reliable narrative for the general reader, backed by a convincing scholarly apparatus (though her careful bibliography makes few corrections to that of D. M. Wolfe). Her research is thorough and exhaustive; she has not unearthed new sources of information, but makes good use of the ones that have appeared since Gibb wrote (for example, Dyve's letter book) and has some interesting sections on the family in Durham. She accepts the view of Christopher Hill and C. B. Macpherson that the Leveller concept of democracy was more restricted than previous readings of the literature have suggested. Dr. Gregg is healthily engaged on the side of her subject, although her book does not convey the passionate warmth of H. N. Brailsford's recent study of the Levellers. Her style is clear but pedestrian, and there are too many short chapters that destroy continuity. She is more at home in the political and economic background of Leveller history than in the complexities of religion. The distinction between Independency and Separatism is blurred, and we are not prepared for the eventual opposition to the Levellers of Independent congregations like Goodwin's, which had originally supported Lilburne. Nor is the author altogether clear and convincing about the stages of Lilburne's own conversion experience, which matters more in his case than for some of his more secular-minded colleagues. There is apparently little that is new for the conventional historian to say about Lilburne, though a psychologist might find some useful clues: the early loss of his mother, the eccentric father, the recurrent thirst for martyrdom, the love-hate relationship with Cromwell. Dr. Gregg, perhaps wisely, avoids such speculations and confines herself to the doughty fighter for English liberties.

*University of Virginia*

DAVID UNDERDOWN

ANGLICAN REACTION TO THE REVOLUTION OF 1688. By *Gerald M. Straka*. (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin for the Department of History, University of Wisconsin. 1962. Pp. x, 180. \$4.25.) Every scholar of late seventeenth-century England has in his research come across the great number of Anglican tracts and sermons dealing with the problems of allegiance, obedience, and resistance raised by the Revolution of 1688. It is a body of literature that most scholars have found forbidding in appearance and, after a glance or two, arid in content; they have put it aside, assuring themselves and their readers that the facts of the Revolution and the ideas of Locke had made the questions dealt with in these pamphlets quite irrelevant: the arguments put forward to justify a Churchman's loyalty to the new monarchs could be nothing more than unworthy rationalizations designed to obscure the triumph of self-interest over principle. With admirable fortitude and intelligence, Straka has plowed into this formidable mass of material in order to discover how the leading spokesmen of the Church of England in the heyday of its power and influence responded to the troublesome events of the 1680's and 1690's. He has found that Sherlock (after his brief career as a Nonjuror), Stillingfleet, Burnet, Lloyd of St. Asaph, and many others developed a set of ideas that provided an important and intellectually respectable middle way between the die-hard views of the Nonjurors or the Jacobites and the radical secular theories of John Locke. At the outset of the concluding chapter

Straka calls his readers' attention to the absence of Locke's name and ideas from the preceding description of Anglican theories. These Anglican writers neither borrowed from Locke nor troubled to refute him. They devised a justification of their loyalty to William and Mary that had as its foundations the Bible, English law and tradition, and ideas of providence and divine right. This book is a useful guide to the Anglican literature of the Revolution; more than that, it is a forceful reminder of the distortions implicit in the traditional Whig version of 1688. The physical appearance of the book from its binding to the photo-offset reproduction of typewritten material within is a major detraction.

*Williams College*

DUDLEY W. R. BAHLMAN

SILVER RENAISSANCE: ESSAYS IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLISH HISTORY. Edited by *Alex Natan*. (New York: St Martin's Press. 1961. Pp. viii, 245. \$3.25.) This collection of twelve essays describes various aspects of Hanoverian England. Three chapters are on political, three on social, and two on economic subjects. The remaining essays relate to dissent, science, theater, and literary taste. As a whole, the book is intended for the general reader. Most of the chapters reveal wide reading in secondary sources, but set forth no new material or viewpoints. The chapters are clearly organized and well written. The essay on dissent and toleration reveals that Nonconformists were regarded as second-class citizens; nevertheless, they solved the problem of educational disabilities by the establishment of dissenting academies. Joseph Priestley serves as a distinguished example of Nonconformity, and Methodists represent a large segment of dissent. A chapter on the slave traffic presents the nefarious story of buying slaves in West Africa and selling them in the New World. The section featuring science pertains mainly to the work of Isaac Newton, Edmond Halley, William Herschel, and Joseph Black. There is a chapter on Frederick, Prince of Wales, which reveals him as a man of discriminating taste, genuinely zealous for landscaped gardens, botany, and art. Unfortunately, Frederick's reputation has suffered from the hatred and strictures of Lord Hervey and Horace Walpole in their memoirs, and his antagonistic relationship to his father has not enhanced his character. There is also an essay on the electorate of Hanover, which provides valuable information for the background of George I and incidentally supplies material on the unhappy position of Leibniz at the electoral court. If the book could have been more comprehensive, I would have welcomed chapters on the agricultural revolution, foreign affairs, empire, army and navy. For a detailed story of the eighteenth century, readers will still need to turn to *Johnson's England* and to the works of L. B. Namier, J. H. Plumb, and Leslie Stephen.

*Claremont Graduate School*

LELAND H. CARLSON

ROBERT ADAM AND HIS CIRCLE IN EDINBURGH AND ROME. By *John Fleming*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1962. Pp. xxi, 393. \$7.50.) Most erudite, most interesting, and most charmingly written, a combination highly desirable but infrequently provided, this book is largely the biographical account of the Adam family of Scottish architects, the father William, and the sons Robert and James. A second volume will continue Robert's biography until his death in 1792 and will deal more fully with the development of the famous Adam light classical style of architecture and interior decoration. The volume is handsomely supplied with illustrations in black and white, and one only regrets the omission of any portrait of Robert Adam, himself, except a very small engraved head by Piranesi. The story opens with a full and hitherto unknown account of William, who was educated in architecture chiefly by tours of Scotland and England. It continues with Robert's grand tour of 1754-1758 and James's grand tour of 1759-1763. Much intimate detail was made possible by the



recent discovery of bundles of letters from Robert and James, both of whom were lively correspondents. Both, too, were dandies and mingled, not only with the artists, but also with the nobility abroad and the traveling gentlemen from Britain. The Edinburgh circle, that "hot-bed of genius," as Smollett put it, included the intellectual giants, David Hume and Adam Smith, along with somewhat lesser lights as Alexander "Jupiter" Carlyle, William Falconer, Adam Ferguson, John Home, Lord Kames, William Robertson, and William Wilkie. Just how intimate these friends were is hinted in a remark by David Hume in 1764 that the Adam family was "one of the few to whose Civilities I have been much beholden, and I retain a lively sense of them." In Italy, Robert Adam was honored by election to the academies of Bologna, Florence, and Rome. He associated with such artists and collectors of the arts as Algarotti, Clérissseau, Piranesi, Winckelman, and his fellow Scot, Alan Ramsay, the portrait painter. His truly great disappointment was in not being able to visit Greece and the Levant in order to write a folio to be entitled "The Antiquities of Magna Graecia" and also, for, despite his extravagance, he was a canny Scot, to open up commercial channels for his youngest brother William. The next volume promised by John Fleming is impatiently awaited.

*University of Texas*

ERNEST CAMPBELL MOSSNER

THE RADICAL DUKE: CAREER AND CORRESPONDENCE OF CHARLES LENNOX, THIRD DUKE OF RICHMOND. By *Alison Gilbert Olson*. [Oxford Historical Series, Second Series.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1961. Pp. 262. \$5.60.) The third Duke of Richmond has long been regarded as a most interesting political figure of the last half of the eighteenth century, but this biography makes one wonder if the interest is more the result of insufficient information than of importance. He emerges from this brief sketch as a personality of great contrasts and no real political significance. If, however, one regards the book as reflecting the political currents of the reign of George III, then Richmond illustrates the important role of personality in those years. The author begins with a delightful chapter on the family, wealth, and character of Richmond. His quixotic personality is amply noted: political ambition and little local power, occasions of extravagance and times of parsimony, and friendship for people and quarrels with them. The subsequent chapters develop the theme through the events from 1765 to 1805. One soon wonders whether it was Richmond's "radical" ideas or his peculiar personality that caused him to fail in politics. Instability of purpose is a main theme of the book, as illustrated by the Duke's active seeking of office between periods of retirement to "Goodwood" and farming. Olson makes his case in the hundred pages of narrative. The last 125 pages are devoted to the selected political letters of Richmond. Though they are well-written examples of this type of correspondence and even occasionally interesting in themselves, I question the merit of so many. Use of these pages to present a more complete examination of the man and his ideas would seem more valuable. The student may gain a few more printed sources, but he would be better served, perhaps, by fewer examples appropriately fitted into a longer text. Olson has given us an interesting sketch of Richmond and then resorted to editing his none too important letters.

*New York University*

JOHN W. WILKES

THE FOURTH EARL OF SANDWICH: DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE, 1763-1765. Edited with an introduction by *Frank Spencer*. (New York: Barnes and Noble. 1961. Pp. vii, 334. \$9.00.) This well-edited collection of documents from public and private sources, with a long and excellent introduction, fulfills three declared purposes: it illustrates the main problems of European diplomacy after the Peace of Paris;



it shows how Sandwich, as Secretary of State, acted toward them; and it indicates the domestic policies and administrative procedures within which he had to work. A new pattern was emerging in Europe with the power of Russia and Prussia, but Sandwich, for all his competence, established no new system for British policy. Mr. Spencer's documentary analysis, intensive in its immediate scope, helps also to explain Britain's isolation in the critical seventies.

*University of California, Berkeley*

G. H. GUTTRIDGE

LEARNING AND LIVING, 1790-1960: A STUDY IN THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH ADULT EDUCATION MOVEMENT. By J. F. C. Harrison. [Studies in Social History.] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1961. Pp. xv, 404. \$6.50.) This is a detailed and informative account of the adult education movement in Yorkshire from pre-Victorian times through the 1950's and the age of television. J. F. C. Harrison, until recently a member of the department of extramural studies at the University of Leeds, has a firsthand knowledge of the contemporary difficulties of the movement, and his monograph is, therefore, an especially welcome addition to Harold Perkin's much-needed series of Studies in Social History. Although the book is chiefly an examination of local history, Harrison constantly relates educational developments in Yorkshire to the general social history of Britain in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. He recognizes how complicated and disorderly his subject matter often is, and for the most part he deals fairly with dozens of educational ventures and publicists, even those with whom he is out of sympathy. It is to his credit that he does not make exaggerated claims for a movement that from its beginnings to the present has affected only a small group within the working classes. The chief weakness of his study is its almost exclusive focus on the outward forms of educational history. Although his book is called *Learning and Living*, there is virtually nothing in it about the repercussions of learning on the lives of those Yorkshire workers who participated in the adult education movement.

*Columbia University*

HERMAN AUSUBEL

THE COLONIAL OFFICE IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY. By D. M. Young. [Imperial Studies Series, Number 22.] (London: Longmans for the Royal Commonwealth Society. 1961. Pp. x, 310. 35s.) Largely from Colonial Office manuscripts the author has produced a well-written, scholarly book that removes much of the obscurity for the Colonial Office undersecretaries of state for the period 1794 to 1830. For the student of British colonial policy it will make easier research in the records of the Colonial Office and related departments. Particularly significant are the developments of the office during the secretaryship of genial Lord Bathurst, the undersecretaryship of aggressive Wilmot Horton, and the legal counselship of conscientious James Stephen, Jr., during the affluent years of the 1820's. It was then that the office acquired organization, a *modus operandi*, and a trained staff consistent with the administrative requirements of an empire recently enlarged by conquest and made suddenly alive by imperial concern for convicts, emigration, crown lands, and slaves. An office of one undersecretary and ten clerks in 1823 became one of two undersecretaries (one a permanent undersecretary) and twenty-three clerks in 1828. In this informal bureau were trained the servants who were to run the office until 1860. In addition to Stephen there were Henry Taylor, T. F. Elliott, W. H. C. Murdoch, and Charles Cox. The study reveals Liverpool, Goderich, and Henry Goulburn as contributors to the office, and Huskisson as a potentially great Colonial Secretary. It discloses, though not as completely as one desires, the great extent that the Colonial Secretary shared the functions of colonial government with other departments and agencies, particularly the

Treasury. It shows how the office was financed, how personnel were selected, and how the work of the office was arranged and assigned so as to provide incentive for members with intellectual qualifications. In addition to a good bibliography there are ten appendixes presenting statistics on the personnel, expenses, and work of the office, an offer of an appointment to the Colonial Office, regulations for processing dispatches, and Joseph Hume's relations with the Colonial Office.

*University of Illinois*

EDGAR L. ERICKSON

MONEY, SAVING AND INVESTMENT IN ENGLISH ECONOMICS, 1800-1850. By B. A. Corry. (New York: St Martin's Press, 1962. Pp. xi, 188. \$6.75.) Some years ago, in *Nassau Senior and Classical Economics*, Marian Bowley drew attention to the subtleties of the classical value theory and to the diversity of thought on this subject in the England of 1823 to 1864. Now, B. A. Corry completes the picture with a more concise but equally remarkable study of English classical macroeconomic theory and the controversy that developed around it in the first half of the nineteenth century. The book's interest largely resides in a careful scrutiny of the orthodox classical and dissenting positions on the theory of money, output, employment, and their interrelations and in Corry's convincing argument against a number of misconceptions which over the years have acquired respectability in the standard histories of economic thought. They include the popular, unqualified view that the orthodox classical position regarded money as a veil superimposed on the underlying "real" relationships, the designation of Malthus, Lauderdale, and other dissenters as "Keynesians," and the belief that classical economics was associated with a policy of social nihilism and the suppression of working-class interests. The misconceptions arise in part from overconcentration on the basic classical macroeconomic model to the neglect of its monetary aspects. Corry analyzes both the simple model and the manner in which it was translated into monetary terms by the leading exponents of the school, with special stress on the effects of money in disequilibrium situations. Evidence is marshaled to show that classical antiinterventionism (shared by some dissenters) was a reflection of classical economic theory and not of a blind belief in "laissez-faire" or of an antiproletarian bias. Corry's analysis shows, moreover, that the dissenters accepted the classical assumption that the decisions to save were automatically translated into investment without fluctuations in the level of income. In this important sense and especially in their disregard for the income lever effects of investment, they were not Keynesian. Only in their fear of oversaving and in their apprehension lest unemployment check annual output can their thought be regarded as presaging the Keynesian approach. Corry's discussion of John Stuart Mill's remarkable essay "On the Influence of Consumption upon Production" deserves special mention. The essay, if included in an "extended" classical macrotheory, would indeed bring that theory closer to current thought than that of the dissenters. Corry's logical explanation notwithstanding, it remains doubtful whether this extraordinary essay should, in fact, be regarded as part of the core of classical doctrine. The doctrinal rehabilitation of the Attwoods is also of interest. Unlike many works growing out of doctoral dissertations, this important book is highly readable and elegantly written.

*Pennsylvania State University*

JAN S. PRYBYLA

THE RAILWAY REVOLUTION: GEORGE AND ROBERT STEPHENSON. By L. T. C. Rolt. (New York: St Martin's Press, 1962. Pp. xviii, 356. \$6.50.) Rolt's work is indeed concerned with a revolution. "Even George Stephenson," says Rolt, "for all his vision, was dumbfounded by the rapidity and scale of the economic and social changes which his railways brought about." Yet his discussion makes it clear that the

development of so revolutionary an instrument as the mechanically drawn train upon a track required evolutionary processes. The essential elements—the free steaming boiler, the smoothly operating and easily controlled valve gear, the stack exhaust, the wooden sleeper, the simple wrought-iron rail—together required a long lifetime to conceive, produce, and apply in effective combination. Neither George nor Robert Stephenson, moreover, was chiefly responsible for any one of them. It is always instructive to subject the carelessly celebrated to a properly critical reappraisal. This Rolt has done with the fabulous Stephensons. That they emerge from the test considerably bloodied, but quite unbowed, is sufficient indication of their stature. It is obvious, however, that the author has adopted Robert, not George, as his particular hero. To be sure, father and son enjoyed a grand common denominator, which was an instinct for railways, but their differences were profound. George Stephenson was in most respects very ordinary: a selfish man, narrow, bitter, and subject to appalling jealousies. Quite without formal education (his illiteracies always had to be softened by secretaries), he displayed nearly every unpleasant characteristic of which a self-made man is capable. Yet he did make himself and in the process exhibited the precise virtues that are indispensable to self-making: the appreciation of a major concept and the willingness to labor for it without stint. Therein he was indubitably a genius. Robert, the son, was a genius also, but refined by a formal education upon which, it should be noted, the father insisted from the beginning. If George too often behaved like a boor, Robert lost his balance very rarely; if George confused competition with personal enmity, Robert could develop his deepest personal friendship with his greatest professional rival. And if age could produce in the elder Stephenson a certain mellowness, the younger had become, while still little more than a youth, one of the more civilized personalities of his century. Both men were eminently human. They both committed extraordinary errors. But if both could fail to appreciate certain innovations of probable merit, neither turned his back upon the obviously proven. This book is not wholly biographical; it is also a study of railway development. Herein the author reveals a commendable ability to season technological material to the layman's taste. An American edition might profitably have included an explanation of certain British railway idioms and a map or two of British main lines whose locations are not universally understood on this side of the Atlantic. In terms of history, it is a reworking of a rather ancient field, but performed in a critical spirit that is praiseworthy, with interesting infusions of fresh material.

Trinity College

ROBERT C. BLACK III

WORSHIP AND THEOLOGY IN ENGLAND. Volume IV, FROM NEWMAN TO MARTINEAU, 1850–1900. By *Horton Davies*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1962. Pp. xiv, 390. \$7.50.) This volume is the second to be published in a series of five which will provide a comparative liturgical history of all English denominations from the Reformation to the present. The title may be misleading: Professor Davies is far more concerned with worship than with theology, and the transition “from Newman to Martineau” is not chronological but ideological, representing the contrast and balance of traditional and innovational elements. Thus the structure of the book is artificial, with no clear points of separation from the periods covered by the previous volume, *From Watts and Wesley to Maurice, 1690–1850* (1961), or by the next, optimistically entitled *The Ecumenical Century*. The completed series will be a monumental and useful survey of English worship (prayer, sacrament, and sermon), comprehensive in its scope and interdenominational in its approach. Comprehensiveness, however, does not imply definitiveness. The chapter on “The Theological Revolution” is a weak restatement of the warfare of science with theology, and the study of Roman Catholicism deals extensively with the eighteenth-century Bishop Challoner (consistently

misspelled as "Challenor"), while omitting practically everything after the 1850's, such as the church-building of Manning and Vaughan. Similarly, the author's impartiality conceals a subtle bias. Davies, a Congregationalist minister turned historian, is scrupulously fair to nearly all denominations, but the enthusiasm with which he greets any sign of liturgical renewal or ecumenical concern betrays his value judgments. Liturgy (corporate prayer and the careful administration of sacraments) is "objective," as contrasted with the "necessary subjectivity" of sermons or the "rambling" looseness of free prayers. The unliturgical Plymouth Brethren are roughly handled, and "Zwinglian" is a term of reproach. Davies' ecumenical views are even more delightfully obvious, as in this neat dismissal of an Old-School Presbyterian: "Evidently not a glimmer of Ecumenicism had penetrated the complacency of his denominational doctrinal darkness." This is somewhat more than historical objectivity requires.

*University of Minnesota*

JOSEF L. ALTHOLZ

BEACONSFIELD AND BOLINGBROKE. By *Richard Faber*. (London: Faber and Faber. 1961. Pp. 107. 18s.) This brief book is obviously a labor of love. Mr. Faber, fascinated since his undergraduate days by Disraeli, still regards him as having "more conversions to his credit than any other British Conservative writer." He feels "his particular value to the Right Wing" is that "he helps the romantic to feel at home in a company that might otherwise seem rather hard-headed or unenterprising for his taste." Attempting to assess the impact of Bolingbroke on Disraeli, he concludes that what they shared were not ideas but "unusual political and literary gifts; . . . a sense of theatre and above all ambition and the will to excel." Not a historian, Faber uses terms like democracy, Fascism, and socialism rather loosely and coins the word "Restoratism" to explain what he considers the strength of both Disraeli and Bolingbroke and, by implication, the present Conservative party.

*Brooklyn College*

MADELINE R. ROBINTON

DEFEAT INTO VICTORY. By *Viscount Slim*. (New York: David McKay Company. 1961. Pp. xi, 468. \$6.50.) Asia is full of quicksands for Western military reputations. White men setting foot on Eastern soil are sometimes just prongs in the collision of cultures. They can also be human assets blending Western and Oriental talents. General Slim was the latter. He jumped into failure to salvage success. Risking his life and reputation over the graveyard of military difficulties in a World War II campaign fraught with built-in failures, Slim extricated his combat beaten Fourteenth Corps in Burma to go on to lead the Fourteenth Army in victory. Initially, Allied troops viewed the Japanese soldier as "nine feet tall." Like walking over the teeth of a saw, Slim's malaria-ridden troops fought over jungle covered hills and by a gradual process mentally and physically made the Japanese less formidable. The author describes this epic, and he also offers cogent military thought that is applicable to modern-day limited war. Thus, his text has dual value. The enemy was only one problem. His units were a jumbled mixture. The Chinese were difficult to handle. He lacked an air force and military intelligence resources. His logistics were complicated by everything from the multiple type diets of his troops to poor communications. With a railway washed away by floods, bombed out, swept by landslides, and closed by wrecks, Slim believed that nothing more could happen to it. Then an earthquake buckled miles of its rails. His troops fought on a seven-hundred-mile front over a land he describes as "the world's worst country, breeding the world's worst diseases, and . . . the world's worst climate." Sometimes military men fight better than they write. Not so with Slim. His objective is to illustrate the war he fought. He lands on target with skillful prose, giving the reader an elbow-side view of events. Historians may argue with minor points, but they certainly will welcome

Slim's comprehensive text for its wealth and depth. As a history, the book ranks high. It lacks footnotes and contains no acknowledgments that would guide the historian to other material. Nevertheless, it appears that the text has at its foundation more than just a fine memory. Summed up, Marshal Slim skillfully records history, giving it living character.

*United States Army*

ROBERT B. RIGG

## EUROPE

LES SOURCES DE L'HISTOIRE MARITIME EN EUROPE, DU MOYEN ÂGE AU XVIII<sup>e</sup> SIÈCLE: ACTES DU QUATRIÈME COLLOQUE INTERNATIONAL D'HISTOIRE MARITIME, TENU À PARIS DU 20 AU 23 MAI 1959. Presented by *Michel Mollat et al.* [Bibliothèque générale de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI<sup>e</sup> Section. Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1962. Pp. x, 481.) The papers presented at the *Quatrième Colloque International d'Histoire Maritime* in 1959 describe an extraordinary variety of documentary sources concerning commerce and the use of ships during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. The only American participant, Frederic C. Lane of Johns Hopkins University, led off with "La marine marchande et le trafic maritime de Venise à travers les siècles." He was followed by the Italian Ruggiero Romano with "La marine marchande vénitienne au xvi<sup>e</sup> siècle," by Jorjo Tadic of Belgrade who described "Les sources de l'histoire maritime yougoslave," and by other participants from Palermo, Athens, Paris, and Spain who dealt with Sicilian, Byzantine, Valencian, Catalan, and Provençal sources. This was truly an international gathering describing historical fields that are best explored by scholars in close and constant proximity to continental archives. In the Atlantic section Ambassador Parra-Perez, Venezuelan delegate to UNESCO, described the Caracas Company, and Professor Rau from Lisbon "Sources pour l'étude de l'économie maritime portugaise," while the other papers were offered by French scholars, who were in the great majority among the participants. A third section devoted to the North Sea and the Baltic included papers by M. M. Postan of Cambridge, Miss Carus-Wilson of the London School of Economics, Charles Verlinden of Ghent, Professor Friis of Copenhagen, Professor Kellenbenz of Nuremberg, Professor Malowist of Warsaw, and Professor Brugmans of Amsterdam. A fourth section, on technical problems, contained such varied contributions as underwater archaeology, marine insurance, and eighteenth-century tonnage theory. The wool trade, the wine trade, and customs documents had their places in this colloquy. Although the general theme was, as Michel Mollat remarks in the introduction, "austère, illimité et complexe," the participants succeeded extraordinarily in bringing some unity to it. The publication of the papers will be highly useful to the small number of people concerned with maritime history before the eighteenth century. Fortunately French publishers do not cringe as readily as their American colleagues when confronted with such a valuable "salesless wonder" as this.

*Boston Athenæum*

WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY SCIENCE AND THE ARTS. By *Stephen Toulmin et al.* Edited by *Hedley Howell Rhys*. [The William J. Cooper Foundation Lectures, Swarthmore College, 1960.] (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1961. Pp. v, 137. \$3.00.) The present slim volume, handsomely made by the Princeton University Press, consists of essays by Stephen Toulmin on "Seventeenth Century Science and the Arts," by Douglas Bush on "Science and Literature," by James S. Ackerman on "Science and Visual Art," and by Claude V. Palisca on "Scientific Empiricism in Musical Thought." The authors are accorded the courtesy of the title page, along with the editor,



and demonstrate their right to be there by the urbanity, wit, and power of their analyses. All keep to the theme—the interaction between science and the arts in the seventeenth century—and all illuminate the mystery of that century, the turning point in the life of modern man. Palisca gets us into a receptive mood for his argument by reminding us that Galileo Galilei, Marin Mersenne, René Descartes, Johannes Kepler, Christian Huygens, and other leading scientists of the seventeenth century “were all trained musicians and authors on musical subjects.” Bush’s tour de force is capped by the unhappy conclusion that “one large effect of science was to circumscribe, blunt, and impoverish the rich, all-embracing sensibility and expressive power that had flourished in the earlier period.” Not only are the individual essays superb in their own right, but taken together they throw an unusual light on the startlingly different effects seventeenth-century science produced on the various arts. One can perhaps say that the new science was comprehended by the writers and that it gave a body blow to their throbbing, emotion-centered world. It was not, in general, comprehended by, nor was it pertinent to, the world of the artists, who, more often than not, continued in thrall to idealistic theories of the past. The new science was comprehended by the musicians, who, unlike the writers, were able to use it to enrich and expand their world. Rarely does a group of essays by different hands succeed so well not only in sticking to a point, but in illuminating it.

*Smithsonian Institution*

WILCOMB E. WASHBURN

LETTRES ADDRESSÉES À LA MAISON ROTHSCHILD DE PARIS PAR SON REPRÉSENTANT À BRUXELLES. Volume I, CRISE POLITIQUE ET CRISE FINANCIÈRE EN BELGIQUE, 1838–1840. Presented and annotated by *Bertrand Gille*. [Centre Interuniversitaire d'Histoire Contemporaine. Cahiers, Number 19.] (Louvain: Éditions Nauwelaerts. 1961. Pp. lvi, 390. 390 fr. B.) The recent studies of nineteenth-century French finance by David Landes, Bertrand Gille, and Rondo Cameron heralded a new day in French economic historiography. Now the persuasive Gille, who has done much to break the tradition of secrecy among French business houses, has captured the inner works of the old guard position. He is free to publish selections from the archives of the Rothschild brothers. Judged by the present volume, this freedom is extensive. The Rothschilds of Paris were the chief financial support of young Belgium after 1830; Louis Richtenberger was their agent in Brussels. The Rothschilds' archives suffered so severely during World War II that nothing remains of Richtenberger's correspondence before 1838 nor of the letters sent him from Paris before 1850. The present volume contains only his letters to Paris in 1838–1840. Like an overheard telephone conversation, this new material reveals much, but leaves much to conjecture. Richtenberger was an able and extremely active agent. He kept close contact with men important in Belgian politics and finance and reported in detail to Paris, his letters constituting “en quelque sorte tous les éléments d'une diplomatie privée.” Apparently not all of the letters have been included, nor are those presented here intact. Unindicated excisions are limited presumably to stock quotations and trivia. After an illuminating introduction Gille reduces his editorial comment to a minimum, drawing its most revealing elements from the archives of the *Société Générale* opened to him for the purpose. Naturally most of the correspondence concerns the financial relations between the Rothschilds and the Belgian treasury. Of importance also in this period of boom and recession is the material on the promotion of industrial and railroad enterprises. Yet its greatest interest must lie in the partial revelation of the manner in which a great financial house conducted its affairs. There is indeed so much of interest and value in this book that one regrets its careless proofreading and its lack of an index. More volumes seem contemplated, but there is no indication of the period to be covered.

*University of Vermont*

PAUL D. EVANS



A HABSBURGOK ÉS ROMANOVOK SZÖVETSÉGE: AZ 1849. ÉVI MAGYAR-ORSZÁGI CÁRI INTERVENCIÓ DIPLOMÁCIAI ELŐTÖRTÉNETE [The Alliance of the Habsburgs and Romanovs: The Diplomatic Prehistory of the 1849 Tsarist Intervention in Hungary]. By *Erzsébet Andics*. (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 1961. Pp. 452. Ft. 85.) To the Western reader, the most valuable part of this work is its second half, the appendix. The 130 hitherto unpublished documents on the Austro-Russian military and diplomatic alliance were collected from Soviet, Austrian, Czechoslovak, and Hungarian archives, the material being supplemented by 21 pertinent documents, most of which were previously published in the *Krasnyi Arkhiv* (1938), the *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung* (1929), and the Metternich memoirs. Also included are 16 Hungarian résumés, the Russian originals of which were omitted for unexplained reasons. Students of diplomatic history and of the *Völkerfrühling* will find here some interesting documents from Russian sources and from the Metternich and Windischgrätz family archives. But the introductory study, although based on extensive research, is of limited value. According to this Marxist interpretation, the representatives of the French and British "reactionary great bourgeoisie" differed only from their Russian counterparts in that their methods were more refined; Palmerston's antipathy toward the Hungarian cause, while it still seemed to have a chance, is described as part of a great counterrevolutionary conspiracy rather than a reflection of British interest in a strong Austrian bulwark against Russian penetration of Southeast Europe. True, these anti-Western overtones are chiefly for domestic consumption and are omitted from the abridged German version published in *Études historiques*, Volume II (1960, 9-57). Yet the emphasis on the pro-Magyar sympathies of some tsarist officers and Russian revolutionaries in 1849 and on Lenin's contempt for imperial Russia's counterrevolutionary role stands in telling contrast to the silence with which the author, so thoroughly familiar with the sources and literature of the period, ignores the mission of A. Dudley Mann and the fact that the United States was the only power willing to grant official recognition to Hungary's revolutionary regime. The preface to the book rightly criticizes the provincialism of Hungarian historians and, in particular, the neoconservative trends in historiography between the two world wars since both attitudes long prevented Hungarians from seeing their nineteenth-century fight for independence in a proper European perspective. Unfortunately the author, who was a member of Rákosi's Central Committee and came under heavy attacks in the spring of 1956 because of her leading role in the Sovietization of Hungarian historiography, is committed to a rigid dogmatism which can hardly stimulate unbiased scholarship in Hungary.

University of Denver

GEORGE BARANY

LES PRIVILÈGES DE LA VILLE DE MARSEILLE DU X<sup>e</sup> SIÈCLE À LA RÉVOLUTION: HISTOIRE D'UNE AUTONOMIE COMMUNALE. By *Mireille Zarb*. Preface by *Gaston Rambert*. (Paris: Éditions A. et J. Picard et Cie. 1961. Pp. 364.) Mireille Zarb, *conservateur* in the Archives Nationales, records the history of the privileges of Marseilles from their earliest appearance to their extinction during the French Revolution. The first part of her book narrates the rise and fall of Marseilles' republican independence from princely power, covering the days of its tenth-century viscounts to the *Chapitres de Paix* of 1257. The decades around the mid-thirteenth century were decisive for Marseilles, as they were for so many other southern French and Provençal towns. During them, its independence was lost, and it became the restive subject, first of the Angevins, and then, in 1481, of the French monarchy. In the second and larger portion of her book, Miss Zarb describes the various types of privileges retained and sometimes expanded by Marseilles up to the Revolution. In short, what Miss Zarb has done is to examine and describe the documents concerning the relationship of Marseilles to princely or centralist authority throughout the commune's long history. This

has the great advantage of enabling the author to illustrate the continuity of Marseilles' institutions and the constancy of its desire for privileged autonomy. On the other hand, the author's wish to tell the whole story puts limits on what her book can say to the reader. If one wants to know about the inner history of the town's constitution or the social movements creating it, for example, he must turn to V. L. Bourilly for the period up to the Angevins or, for the Angevin age itself, to Georges Lesage. Furthermore, so vast is Miss Zarb's canvas that the documents cited in her book and in its notes do not always convey the lively grandeur of Marseilles' ambitions in the different epochs of its history. Admittedly, references to the pertinent documents are usually given somewhere in the notes, but, unfortunately, the documents themselves have frequently been published and discussed by earlier scholars who skimmed the cream. What remains, therefore, are often mere matters of detail, interesting and useful but not exciting. In only one respect do I feel that Miss Zarb really gives me grounds for grave criticism. In her introduction, she laments the tendency of French historians to specialize only in northern French urbanism and to neglect that of the south. Unfortunately, however, the author herself appears not to have read what has been written about southern French cities, whether by Frenchmen or others, particularly Germans. It is evident that Miss Zarb has yet to become aware of the larger issues now treated by urban historians and that, consequently, she knows little about comparable institutions or developments in other cities, even in those of Provence. While Miss Zarb's work is helpful to the urban historian, it suffers from its resemblance to a chronologically and topically arranged catalogue of acts.

*Columbia University*

JOHN H. MUNDY

LES PROTESTANTS DU MAS-D'AZIL: HISTOIRE D'UNE RÉSISTANCE 1680-1830. By *Alice Wemyss*. [Bibliothèque Méridionale, 2d Series, Volume XXXVI.] (Toulouse: Édouard Privat. 1961. Pp. 399.) In this splendid study based on extensive research in local archives, the author re-creates much of the history of a small community in the Comté de Foix between 1680 and 1830. It will be of special interest to those concerned with French Protestantism, for Le Mas was a "Protestant island" in a Catholic sea. In 1680 the overwhelming majority of its two thousand inhabitants were Calvinists; subsequently their numbers declined, but they remained in the majority and continued to dominate community life. Le Mas served as a commercial center for the surrounding farms, and one found there representatives of the lesser nobility, the bourgeoisie, and the peasantry, making the area an especially fruitful object of study. The thoroughness of the research brings to light aspects of French Protestant life that commonly pass unnoticed in more general studies: the role of Calvinist women and of the Calvinist nobility in the community. In microcosm, one sees in illuminating detail the pattern of Protestant behavior during the period: their political loyalty to governments in power, the harassments they sustained from the state and Church, Protestant relations with their Catholic compatriots, and the divisions within the Protestant fold and the difficulties they created in the reconstruction of their church during the eighteenth century. Regrettably there is little information on the theological content of their faith (lack of information?). But the author does a superlative job in relating events in France and Europe as a whole with life and changes in the community itself. She joins others in emphasizing the extent to which the Protestants were genuinely French. During the Revolution the community drifted with the prevailing currents. It was regarded as a Jacobin stronghold during the Republic and a center of Bonapartism during the Empire. But the great virtue of her study is that it permits the reader to see beyond the general. Consequently we learn that individual Protestants were to be found in virtually all political camps. For example, Jean-Paul Damboix, a noble, was mayor of the community in 1791, a "man

of '89," a member of the local Jacobin Club; his brother died leading troops against the invading Spanish in 1793. But two of his sons emigrated and died fighting the Republic at Quiberon, and a third was an "ultra" during the Restoration. The author concludes that Protestant resistance to a Catholic monarchy was confined to the religious plane; in the political sphere they could accommodate themselves with relative ease to virtually any government with the exception of an absolute monarchy. Their instinctive aversion to the latter, the author suggests somewhat questionably, was comparable to that felt by the majority of French Catholics. She makes the interesting suggestion that the pusillanimity of the Protestant bourgeoisie before official persecution was dictated less by specific concern for their properties than by their projection into this sphere of life of the businessman's tendency to calculate the risks and to invest accordingly. By emphasizing the diversity of experiences sustained by various Protestant communities during the old regime, she gives the reader fair warning not to generalize too quickly from the example of Le Mas. The volume includes numerous statistical tables relating to the social, economic, and political position of the Protestants of Le Mas. Without question, this is one of the finest and most informative studies in the local history of Protestantism in France ever to be undertaken.

*Pomona College*

BURDETTE C. POLAND

FRENCH ECCLESIASTICAL SOCIETY UNDER THE ANCIEN RÉGIME: A STUDY OF ANGERS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By *John McManners*. (New York: Barnes and Noble. 1960. Pp. xi, 416. \$9.00.) Eighteenth-century Angers was the seat of a bishopric surrounded by an imposing constellation of religious establishments. By the author's estimate, one in every sixty inhabitants of the city was either in major orders or a member of a religious community. It is they, to the virtual exclusion of lay society, that the author studies through extensive research in the regional archives. Was this a representative community? "The typical does not exist in 18th century France. What can be said, however, is, that the life of Angers, confined and introverted, was a unity. . . ." Protestantism had been thoroughly extirpated, and the province was relatively immune from Jansenism. Richerism, however, had its devotees; by the end of the century they were making demands for recognition and representation parallel to those sought by the politically conscious in the lay life of France. Members of the municipal government looked on ecclesiastical property with increasingly covetous eyes and showed a readiness to blame the economic stagnation of the community on the extent to which such Church holdings seemed to thwart economic progress; a chance to prove their case came with the sale of such properties during the Revolution. But otherwise the clergy seem to have lived in uncommon accord with lay society. Church attendance remained strong throughout the century, and priests in their sermons refused to compromise with the Enlightenment. Membership in religious communities declined sharply on the eve of the Revolution, but ecclesiastics were reasonably diligent in the performance of their tasks, and there seem to have been no scandals among the clergy, regular or secular, for any anticlericals to exploit. In short, the picture that emerges from this study is that of a community unusually secure in patterns of thought and action established centuries before; harmony reigned until shattered by the Revolution which few of the clergy could accept once its ecclesiastical policies became clear. Those who take up this volume in search of an exposition of the interrelationships between religious and secular life in an eighteenth-century French community will be disappointed for the most part. But for the specialist in Church history, the volume provides interesting and informative insights into the religious life of a French community under the old regime.

*Pomona College*

BURDETTE C. POLAND

LA BANQUE PROTESTANTE EN FRANCE DE LA RÉVOCATION DE L'ÉDIT DE NANTES À LA RÉVOLUTION. Volume II, DE LA BANQUE AUX FINANCES (1730-1794). By Herbert Lüthy. [École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI<sup>e</sup> Section. Centre de recherches historiques. Affaires et gens d'affaires, Volume XIX.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1961. Pp. 861.) In this weighty volume Professor Lüthy concludes his monumental study of the so-called *Banque Protestante* in France before the Revolution. Like its predecessor (see *AHR*, LXVI [Oct. 1960], 205), its importance transcends by far the limited scope indicated by the title. The introductory chapter, devoted to generalities, begins with an intriguing essay on "The Society of the Ancien Régime and the *tableau économique*" and includes a description of banking techniques and tendencies. A second chapter sketches the financial background and international connections of Geneva, from which so many French bankers came and with which they maintained relations. The author then launches into a detailed account, in two chapters that take up more than three-fourths of the text, of the development of banking firms, networks, and dynasties (including notably that of Necker), and of the business in which they engaged, especially that concerned with financing the French state. In his concluding chapter he turns again to generalities: the question of Protestantism and pecuniary success, the "legitimation of economic calculation," "natural economy and mercantile economy," the place of Huguenots in French society, and finally the "legend" of *la Banque Protestante*. It is impossible in a brief review to do justice to the great number of problems with which the author deals, or to the skill, patience, and finesse with which he does it. It is worth noting, however, that he effectively destroys the notion of a homogeneous, cohesive Huguenot community standing in opposition to or isolation from the bulk of French society. The entire work is solidly based on an enormous mass of documentation, difficult of both access and utilization, but with sources clearly indicated. Probably only specialists in financial history will have patience or interest to plow through from cover to cover, but no scholar concerned with the *ancien régime*, regardless of his precise field of specialization, can afford to ignore it. For the convenience of those who want to consult it as a work of reference it is provided with an elaborate index of names, amounting in some cases to genealogical tables, covering sixty-seven pages and containing more than three thousand entries. In all respects it is a monument of impressive, exhaustive (and exhausting!) scholarship.

University of Wisconsin

RONDO CAMERON

ŒUVRES COMPLÈTES DE ROBESPIERRE. Volume V, LES JOURNAUX. LETTRES À SES COMMETTANS. Critical edition prepared by Gustave Laurent. (Gap: Imprimerie Louis-Jean for the Société des Études Robespierriistes, Paris. 1961. Pp. 380. 28 N. F.) Mr. Laurent and the many successors who assumed the task after his death in 1949 have here maintained the excellence that marked his editing of *Le Défenseur de la Constitution*. Obscure individuals, minor events, and veiled allusions are quite satisfactorily clarified, and references to the *Moniteur*, the *Archives parlementaires*, and Hamel direct the scholar immediately to the sources of fuller information. Unhappily, the index merely indicates the pages on which the name of a person or place is mentioned, with no suggestion of the connection in which it appears. But this is more annoying than fatal. The *Lettres à ses commettans* begin with the Convention in September 1792 and come to an end in April 1793. First, several comments on the title. His constituents, according to Robespierre, are not simply his Parisian electors, but "every Frenchman," a view of his role shared by many deputies. And the letters are not always to his constituents. Two, for example, are addressed to his new-found enemy, Pétion; another is to Vergniaud and his colleagues of the Gironde. In tone they are less "correct" and a bit more abusive than his speeches in the Convention. In some issues he

prints speeches delivered before the Convention, omitted in this edition since they have already appeared in the *Discours*; in others, addresses by his colleagues or communications from local groups are included. A special feature in most issues, but abandoned in February 1793, is a "table of operations" of the Convention. Here Robespierre, and probably his collaborators, attempts to give an (or his) account of the Convention's activities. The reports are of unequal quality, the earlier ones particularly, where the chronology is quite confused. On the other hand, the twenty-page account of the maneuverings during the king's trial is greatly rewarding since it reveals Robespierre's interpretation of the Girondists' tactics and his contempt for both them and their shifts. There is an immediacy here that the *Moniteur* cannot give.

University of Illinois

J. B. SIRICH

CITIZEN-KING: THE LIFE OF LOUIS-PHILIPPE, KING OF THE FRENCH. By T.E. B. Howarth. (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode. 1961. Pp. 358. 30s.) *Citizen-King* is an orthodox political biography by a master of Winchester College who has an obvious sympathy for constitutional monarchy. Written for amateurs in history, it brings to specialists in the field little that is new, but it is, nonetheless, a good book, certainly the best biography of Louis Philippe in English. About half of it is devoted to Louis's years as king, which Howarth covers accurately and systematically, but like his predecessors he presents the period too exclusively in terms of a succession of ministries, stamping the history of those years with a dullness it does not deserve. The chapters on Louis's childhood and his career during the Revolution are more rewarding, for they convey some of the excitement of the times and of Louis's part in them. Least satisfactory is the section on Louis's role during the Restoration. To the years from the family's return to Paris in 1817 to the Revolution of 1830 Howarth allots only seven pages, and from them the reader learns nothing of the Duke's political associations and activities. The author's judgment of Louis as man and king is a long-overdue revision of the republican and legitimist stereotypes of a dull and parsimonious man, and a reactionary, incompetent ruler. Louis emerges from Howarth's pages as an intelligent and generous man and as a devoted public servant who performed as creditably as most of his successors in the difficult job of governing postrevolutionary France. *Citizen-King* is not the definitive biography. Most of what is known about Louis Philippe is here, but much remains to be uncovered in archives and family papers. The substance of the book, which is not fully footnoted, shows no evidence of systematic use of manuscript sources in the Archives Nationales or in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and Howarth apparently had no more success than other scholars interested in Louis Philippe in gaining access to the Orléans family papers at Dreux. Until these are available the biography cannot be written.

University of Missouri

DAVID H. PINKNEY

LYON TRANSFORMED: PUBLIC WORKS OF THE SECOND EMPIRE, 1853-1864. By Charlene Marie Leonard. [University of California Publications in History, Number 67.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1961. Pp. 160. \$3.50.) The glamorous and magnificent results of Louis Napoleon's rebuilding of Paris have perhaps overshadowed what was a great effort at national renovation. Miss Leonard's work contributes to "a more balanced interpretation of imperial urban policy" through a study of the program of public works undertaken at Lyon. She concentrates on the period 1853-1864 when imperial constructive vigor was locally personified by Claude Marius Vaisse, simultaneously prefect of the department of the Rhone and mayor of Lyon. In clear, if rather flat, prose Miss Leonard develops the complex interactions of imperial policy, local administrative zeal, public finance, and private interest that were involved in the conceiving, organizing, and executing of a large-scale program of public works.



She demonstrates that under certain circumstances the French business community could supply an imaginative and constructive supplement to the administration's commitment to great public projects. While the entrepreneurs of municipal construction did not operate in anything approaching a free market, they did assume serious risks in the hope of considerable gain. In many cases, however, the administration could not find the entrepreneur and had to undertake the project itself. Then the will and ingenuity of the prefect Vaïsse, and behind him, the intention of the Emperor, were crucial for a program of municipal development that has not been matched by the accumulated contributions of all the years since 1864. Through an effective selection of printed materials and of documents from the Archives Nationales and the Municipal Archives of Lyon, the author persuasively supports her interpretation of the really significant accomplishments of Vaïsse and the Emperor. She is less effective when she ventures outside the rather narrow boundaries of her documentation to consider the political and economic effects of the reforms. For example, the dilemma of Lyon's endemic political hostility to the Empire in spite of benefits conferred raises questions of a scope and complexity that cannot be resolved by a rather tentative balancing off of the immediate benefits and disadvantages of Vaïsse's program as they appeared to contemporaries. Miss Leonard's treatment of her major theme, the actual description of the works program, is a useful contribution to Second Empire studies.

*State University of Iowa*

ALAN B. SPITZER

LE CRÉDIT LYONNAIS DE 1863 À 1882: LES ANNÉES DE FORMATION D'UNE BANQUE DE DÉPÔTS. In two volumes. By *Jean Bouvier*. [École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI<sup>e</sup> Section. Centre de recherches historiques. Affaires et gens d'affaires, Volumes XXIII and XXIII<sub>1</sub>.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1961. Pp. 500; 506-936.) Bouvier's massive two-volume work attempts to trace historically the foundation and development of the *Crédit Lyonnais* from 1863 to 1882 and to describe in detail the financial operations of the bank during this period as illustrative of the workings of French capitalism. Volume I is mainly devoted to the former task, and Volume II, to the latter. Volume I begins with an excellent economic survey of the Lyonesse region and its financial needs. Mention is made of the law of 1863 permitting free incorporation with limited liability for companies capitalized at not more than twenty million francs—a prerequisite to the foundation of the bank by Arles-Dufour and Henri Germain. Germain's role as president of the bank during the period 1863-1882 is rightly emphasized, but unfortunately the author could find little about his activities before 1863. One would also like to know more about Germain's political activities (1863-1882) and the Saint-Simonian influence upon him. The bank's growth to a capital of 200,000,000 francs in 1881 (permitted by liberalization of the law of 1863) and a network of 107 branches in France and abroad (the Paris branch becoming the head office by 1881) is related in detail. Particularly interesting are the descriptions of how the bank weathered the various economic crisis. Bouvier claims the 1881-1882 crisis ended a stage of the development of the bank, and thus it is the terminal date for his book. Much of Volume II deals with foreign activities of the bank such as its involvement in Egyptian, Ottoman, and Russian finances. The general student of French history might wish that this work devoted more space to the political interests and involvements of the bank and its directors. For the student of French economic history and French banking, the work is an impartial, scholarly masterpiece based upon a wealth of documentation.

*State University of New York, Albany*

MATTHEW H. ELBOW

LE DÉPARTEMENT DE L'ISÈRE SOUS LA TROISIÈME RÉPUBLIQUE, 1870-1940: HISTOIRE SOCIALE ET POLITIQUE. By *Pierre Barral*. [Cahiers de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, Number 115.] (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin.



1962. Pp. 597. 32 N. F.) Mr. Barral has utilized research techniques developed by French social scientists such as Simiand, Kayser, Le Bras, Duverger, and Stegfried to depict, largely in quantitative terms, the historical evolution of society in Dauphiné. The result of this impressive labor in a wide variety of sources—the municipal archives at Grenoble, election results, prefect reports, census figures, and statistics on wages and prices—is a highly systematic monograph bristling with numbers and tables. Densely packed pages describe the geography of the region, class structure, grass-roots politics, institutions of intellectual life, and the tendencies of public opinion. Those social factors that can be counted have been counted to delineate the broad contours of social change. But masses of facts unrelieved by interpretations make dull reading. A strong concluding essay is needed to pull together the results and relate them to the general history of the Third Republic. This pioneering study adds depth and precision to familiar generalizations. In Dauphiné, as in France, the Republic drew from the small towns its electoral strength and its political personnel: *les nouvelles couches* which replaced the *notables* after 1880. While parliamentary scandals and the Dreyfus affair hardly stirred local opinion, the quarrel between the Republic and the Catholic Church aroused neighbors as no other issue. Anticlericalism was a central tenet in the republican creed. Once the Republic was established, small-town politicians replaced prefects as the men whose decisions mattered. Socialism in the Isère, as in France, injected discipline and doctrine into mass politics. After the war anticlericalism lost its virulence, and foreign relations increasingly impinged on public opinion. Even at the end of the Republic and despite the industrial revolution created by hydroelectric power, Dauphiné remained a *pays de gauche* of small towns and farms. In a general way then, taking into account unique regional circumstances, Dauphiné mirrored the evolution of the Third Republic. Monographs like this one are the indispensable elements of a fuller, more precise history of the Third Republic.

Westminster College, Fulton, Missouri

RUSSELL M. JONES

THE WINEGROWERS OF FRANCE AND THE GOVERNMENT SINCE 1875. By Charles K. Warner. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1960. Pp. xvi, 303. \$6.00.) This technically sound though rather narrowly limited study of the winegrowing industry in France since 1875 poses a problem in agricultural economics. The method employed involves the presentation of "aggregates" or "the set of general relationships" on which this one aspect of the French economy has turned. Throughout this work the dominant theme is the failure of the government to deal effectively with the problem of overproduction. Warner maintains that only the uprooting of vines accompanied by the payment of indemnities and the encouragement of replacement crops could have served as effective countermeasures. But some of the most fundamental aspects of the industry in France, as the author himself recognizes, lie outside the scope of his study. For the French, there has long been a *mystique*, not only about winegrowing, but about wine drinking. Moreover, the intervention of the government was at least partially designed to maintain a large proportion of the population as peasant proprietors. These, in turn, have constituted the mainstay of the small, polycultural agriculture so typical of France for the past several centuries. Warner is entitled, of course, to define the limits of his work as he sees fit. But the study of an industry is likely to be sterile if no serious consideration is given to its sociocultural setting. The attitudinal aspects of winegrowing and wine consumption demonstrate the limitations inherent in the traditional categories of historical study and the need for the widest latitude in investigations.

Roosevelt University

JACK J. ROTH

MARSHAL FOCH: A STUDY IN LEADERSHIP. By T. M. Hunter. ([Ottawa:] Directorate of Military Training, Army Headquarters; distrib. by Queen's Printer, Ottawa. 1961. Pp. 250. \$1.80.) Lieutenant Colonel T. M. Hunter of the Canadian Army

has tried to tease out the leadership qualities of Marshal Foch without writing just another biography of a figure so fully depicted by Liddell Hart, Weygand, and Cyril Falls. This author makes a contribution, especially in the last chapter where he sums up Foch's paradoxical ability to offset his failure to appreciate sufficiently the importance of aviation, tanks, sea power, and logistics by his vibrant embodiment of the will to win—a contagious attribute. But if others had not supplied the marshal with the indispensable manpower and matériel, he would have gone down in history as a quixotic paladin.

*University of California, Los Angeles*

JERE CLEMENS KING

THE LIBERATION OF PARIS. By *Willis Thornton*. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World. 1962. Pp. xvi, 231. \$5.95.) "Now, behold, once more this French Nation believes!" Thus Willis Thornton, quoting Carlyle, opens his chapter on the "Battle of Paris." The quotation is apt, for this book is romantic, narrative history, designed to stir emotions, evoke sentiments of glory, pay tribute to greatness. Stern social scientists, seeking charts, graphs, and columns of statistics, will find it wanting; readers who prefer a more impressionistic technique will probably be delighted. Thornton begins by discussing the tribulations of life in Paris during the German occupation, then leads up to the liberation by describing resistance activity and the role of General de Gaulle. The stage set, he then chronicles the chaotic days of July and August 1944: the German preparations for withdrawal, the capture of the prefecture of police by gendarmes suddenly enrolled in the FFI, the "truce" arranged by the Swedish consul general, the bickering between various resistance groups, and, finally, the arrival of Leclerc, De Gaulle, and the Americans. Throughout, the author maintains evenhanded objectivity. After duly showing that the liberation was possible only because an Allied army was almost at the city's gates, he concludes that "the Liberation was achieved not only by the thousands who fought, not only by the three thousand who died or the other thousands who were wounded, but by Paris itself." Unfortunately, in his desire to avoid injustice in distributing the glory, Thornton sometimes gives the impression that he is measuring it out in coffee spoons. A little more passion, even partisanship, would have made a livelier book. The author based his account on memoirs; he also pays tribute to the works of Aron and Dansette. No notes are included, but in this kind of book they are really unnecessary; a short bibliography lists the major sources used. Several interesting photographs accompany the text.

*Rutgers University*

CARTER JEFFERSON

FRANCE, TROUBLED ALLY: DE GAULLE'S HERITAGE AND PROSPECTS. By *Edgar S. Furniss, Jr.* (New York: Harper and Brothers for the Council on Foreign Relations. 1960. Pp. xvi, 512. \$5.75.) Professor Furniss has set himself an ambitious task. He has attempted to write a narrative history of France since 1945, a political, economic, and sociological analysis of French government and society under the Fourth Republic, and a tentative survey of "the foundations and prospects of De Gaulle's Republic." The most searching part of this book deals with the "*immobilisme*" of the Fourth Republic. As Furniss points out, "the 'system,' reflecting the contradictory aspirations of the French people, balanced or teetered between vested interests, between antagonistic pressures, leading to immobility as the natural, expected, and even desired consequence." In seeking the causes of this political immobility which was to ruin the Fourth Republic by preventing the democratic parties from facing up to France's most urgent problems, Furniss correctly emphasizes the paralyzing effect of the antidemocratic extremes in the National Assembly. Political groups, which, in a more favored democracy, would have formed genuine governmental and opposition parties, found themselves "doomed to cooperate in maintaining the system." The result was a "series

of stylized cabinet crises," a succession of do-nothing premiers, growing reliance on the bureaucracy, and an increasing gulf between the French citizen and his elected representatives. Furniss finds also that the same immobility was felt economically and socially, especially in the areas of housing and education, although he dismisses too cursorily the problems of the peasant and small shopkeeper by labeling their attitude "*incivisme*." In the first section of the book Furniss summarizes succinctly the history of France from the liberation to 1954. The narrative is clear but somewhat oversimplified, being largely based upon the French yearbook *L'Année politique* rather than upon a wider study of primary sources (the author rather surprisingly fails to use the stenographic reports of the debates of the National Assembly or of the Council of Europe). The last section of the book studies the political and economic foundations of the Fifth Republic and its immediate colonial problems. Since the book was published in 1960, much of this analysis has been outdated by the events in Algeria and by the enormous growth in importance of the Common Market. Furniss has performed a useful service in elucidating the paradoxes of France's postwar history, but, as he himself admits, "at the time of this writing, the historical record of De Gaulle's France contains only a preface and a few pages of the initial chapter."

University of Washington

F. ROY WILLIS

THE TRIUMPH OF INTEGRITY: A PORTRAIT OF CHARLES DE GAULLE. By *Duncan Grinnell-Milne*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1962. Pp. 334. \$5.00.) It is not possible for Frenchmen to write about De Gaulle with any degree of objectivity; this book demonstrates that it is still very difficult for foreigners to do so. Perhaps Mr. Grinnell-Milne would not claim to have tried. His portrait is engaging, colorful, and passionate. One must say that it adds nothing new, although the precise arrangement of the material has a certain freshness to it. And there are small matters of anecdotal detail that confirm familiar traits. Where his own association with the general as a liaison officer during the war is concerned, the portrait is very good indeed. The chapters dealing, disproportionately of course, with the Dakar episode in particular are vibrant and living. There the painter, as he chooses to consider himself, has achieved success. Indeed, the whole biography as literature may be called successful. But it is highly personal and considerably prejudiced. The painter is far too protective of his own association, one may suppose, to have been able to approach the subject in a satisfactory manner. Grinnell-Milne has written a success story. This De Gaulle's life certainly permits. But to squeeze the last ounce of success out of it, the author has colored everything and everyone accordingly. The approach to unhappy Vichy is choleric and quite unfair. Estimates of Weygand, cast as principal fiend, are extravagantly nonsensical; a biographer of De Gaulle may not care for Weygand much more than De Gaulle himself could, but he ought to exercise some control of his passion and resentment. The version of events given by De Gaulle is taken everywhere at face value; there are no criticism, no conflicting evidence, no study of the fuller materials, indeed, nothing of the lofty restraint and irony that are the deadliest weapons in the three volumes from that study at Colombey. With Pétain, the author is much less sure. Darlan is a caricature; Laval is pure evil; Flandin is unrecognizably pure. And the Americans? Naturally Admiral Leahy comes off badly, but he is certainly beyond help. Cordell Hull gets his comeuppance, not without justification. And FDR has his halo knocked off in a direct manner not so commonly known in Great Britain. Possibly few would enter the lists with much hope of saving Washington's reputation where De Gaulle was concerned, and most of the things Grinnell-Milne says are true. But his assault is too crude to be interesting. It is not unhealthy to see an Englishman take issue with British policy in the Middle East during the war, and in this case the author's convictions are apparently so

strong that he cannot bring himself to name the principal agent responsible for that sad minor-league Machiavellianism—nor even to include his important books in the bibliography. But the unreliability of judgment here is illustrated more typically by the simply fantastic assertion that Darlan “intended to provoke” the British massacre at Mers el Kébir in July 1940. It is hardly worth saying that there is no solitary scrap of evidence for such a conclusion. All in all, the book is readable and pleasant. It has a small complement of factual errors, but nothing too serious. It is quite unbalanced about the hero, however, who is represented as being just too high-minded and all-wise to be true, and it is as misleading about France, Frenchmen, and the war as the tales about all this which Stalin and Roosevelt told each other. As for the postwar period here, it is brief, unrevealing, and dithyrambic. In London in April 1960 the general turned to Grinnell-Milne to say he hoped he was finding the subject agreeable. Unhappily for De Gaulle, his biography, and the author, Grinnell-Milne, found it much too agreeable.

*University of Toronto*

JOHN C. CAIRNS

FOUR CENTURIES OF PORTUGUESE EXPANSION, 1415-1825: A SUCCINCT SURVEY. By C. R. Boxer. [Publications of the Ernest Oppenheimer Institute of Portuguese Studies of the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, Number 3.] (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press. 1961. Pp. ix, 102. 10s.) The text of four lectures given by Professor Boxer at the University of the Witwatersrand in 1960, this work traces the main outlines of Portuguese expansion in America, Africa, and the East. In spite of his brevity, this historical synthesis is a work of the most profound perception and is the best short treatment in any language of Portugal's overseas expansion. In Chapter I, “From Maghreb to the Moluccas, 1415-1521,” Boxer takes up the familiar but still stirring story of the fifteenth-century voyages of navigation. He also considers the forces behind Portuguese expansion and points out why some areas of the sprawling mercantile empire were doomed to disaster from the beginning, and others, to frustration. In all of Portugal's new domains there were probably never more than ten thousand men at any time during the sixteenth century. One wonders that such a scattered complex of commitments and problems lasted as long as it did. In Chapter II, “The Clash of Colour, Caste, and Creed in the Sixteenth Century,” the author discusses the various imperial and missionary policies Portugal carried out, or attempted to carry out, in the various parts of the Empire. These are very complicated problems, which Portuguese historians have traditionally oversimplified, but the author handles them with great lucidity and welcome candor (“The oft-made claim that the Portuguese had no colour-bar cannot be substantiated”). In Chapter III, “The Struggle for Spices, Sugar, Slaves, and Souls in the Seventeenth Century,” Boxer describes the reasons for the decline of Portugal in the East and for its successes in Brazil, where individual settlers had struck deeper roots as colonists than had their countrymen in the East. The final chapter, “The Golden Age of Brazil in the Eighteenth Century,” is concerned mostly with the only important Portuguese colony in that century; herein Boxer shrewdly defines the emerging Brazilian national personality. He also discusses Pomal's complicated colonial policies, the decline of the missionary effort overseas, and several multiracial controversies. Boxer's last pages sum up the enduring qualities Portugal implanted in foreign lands; perhaps these general observations are somewhat too optimistic for application to Portuguese Africa, at least, where the legacy of Portugal has been scanty in the extreme.

*Brandeis University*

JAMES DUFFY

SUOMEN HISTORIALLINEN BIBLIOGRAFIA, 1544-1900. By J. Vallinkoski and Henrik Schaubman. [Käsitirjoja Number 5.] (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura.

1961. Pp. xix, 571.) J. Vallinkoski and Henrik Schauman, chiefs respectively of the libraries of Helsinki University and the Parliament, have set a well-nigh unsurpassable record as productive bibliographers. It was only a half-dozen years ago that the two brought out the two-volume, 1337-page *Suomen historiallinen bibliografia, 1926-1950* (1955-1956), as a continuation of Aarno Maliniemi and Ella Kivikoski's *Suomen historiallinen bibliografia, 1901-1925* (1940). The present volume completes the bibliographical coverage of the period 1544-1950, and supplementary publications are planned every tenth year. It was with pardonable pride that Henrik Grönroos in his judicious review in the Finnish Historical Society's *Historiallinen Aikakauskirja* (LIX [No. 4, 1961]) suggested that "perhaps no other country's historical literature is so fully catalogued." The scope of this bibliography, like that of its predecessors, is commendably broad. Its twenty-six divisions with headings in Finnish, Swedish, and French include art, literature, folklore, genealogy, biography, and language, in addition to the conventional historical fields. The coverage of Russian-language works has been greatly expanded; it might be added that a special supplement of Russian-language publications on the period 1901-1925, omitted from the Maliniemi-Kivikoski volume, is planned. The present bibliography also includes newspaper articles, an innovation prompted by the relative scarcity of periodical materials. The completion of the bibliographical series, Grönroos hopefully predicted, would have a salutary effect on the study of Finnish history not only in the homeland but elsewhere. How great the impact will be on scholarship in the United States remains to be seen. It is difficult to imagine how anyone interested in Finland and the Finns can get along without these excellent bibliographical guides.

Heidelberg College

JOHN I. KOLEHMAINEN

SØNDERJYLLAND UNDER TREÅRSKRIGEN: ET BIDRAG TIL DETS POLITISKE HISTORIE. Volume II, FRA FORÅRET 1849 TIL FREDEN MED PREUSSEN, JULI 1850. By *Holger Hjelholt*. (Copenhagen: G. E. C. Gads Forlag. 1961. Pp. 348. Kr. 18.) This volume deals with the situation in South Jutland (better known to Americans by its German name, Schleswig) from the end of March 1849, when Denmark denounced the armistice of the preceding year, through the second armistice to the conclusion of the formal peace treaty with Prussia in July 1850. It describes in detail the problems of implementing the armistice, of establishing an administration under the direction of a mixed commission composed of a Dane, a Prussian, and an Englishman, and the difficulties of personal adjustment in a territory divided by conflict of nationalities. As I wrote in my review of the first volume (*AHR*, LXV [July 1960], 968), this is a study of local history but of local history that influenced the broader aspects of Danish and German history and touched the interests of the European Great Powers. It is obvious that outside of Denmark, the book will appeal to a limited group of readers: to specialists in Danish history and perhaps in German, and to those who know South Jutland so well that they will be reminded of familiar places and names. For others, this volume, like the first, offers an opportunity to study at close range the way in which nationalism manifested itself in individuals and small groups, though in less virulent form than later in the century in this area and elsewhere.

Minneapolis, Minnesota

LAWRENCE D. STEEFEL

USTABIL BALANCE: DANSK UDENRIGS- OG FORSVARSPOLITIK, 1894-1905. By *Troels Fink*. [Skrifter udgivet af Jysk Selskab for Historie, Sprog og Litteratur, Number 9.] (Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget. 1961. Pp. 253. Kr. 17.25.) The Anglo-Japanese alliance of 1902, the Kaiser's wooing of the tsar, and the Russo-Japanese War cast shadows over the little country that sat astride the passages into and out of the



Baltic Sea. Should Denmark, battered and beaten in the nineteenth century, concentrate army and fortifications to defend Copenhagen, hoping for help in time from either east or west against the assumed enemy, its neighbor to the south? Or should it put faith in naval defense of the Great Belt, only deep water connection between the powers of the North Sea and those of the Baltic? The army and the Conservatives favored the former, the navy and the Liberal Left (*Venstre*) leaned toward the latter alternative which might be consistent with armed neutrality. Central interest revolves around the attempt after 1902 to win recognition of neutrality. Along with behind-the-scenes negotiations was the proposal of the Russian scholar, F. de Martens, in the *Revue des deux mondes* for neutralization of Denmark, then of all Scandinavia, with free passage of all ships through the Belts during both peace and war. The Kaiser worked for a personal and secret agreement, not involving parliaments, with the king of Denmark and the tsar, but dropped this plan at the end of December 1903, when suddenly convinced that it would be better to permit an English (or an Anglo-American) fleet to enter the Great Belt and attack it there. By the summer of 1905, with Russia weakened and Germany strengthened, the old balance was upset. The Danes were helpless: "the highest we could aspire to is to be permitted to live." The Kaiser was rightly sure that Denmark at that moment would make no objection to a Russo-German occupation. It might even become the "admiral-state" for Germany, as proposed in the 1840's. Tightly packed, well-written, revealing of the sad alternatives open to a small country, this study is based on previously unused archival material, including notes taken in Russia by the late Professor Aage Friis.

*Northwestern University*

FRANKLIN D. SCOTT

DIE ZOLLTARIFE DER STADT HAMBURG. By *Ernst Pitz*. [Deutsche Handelsakten des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit, Volume XI. Deutsche Zolltarife des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit, Part 2.] (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag. 1961. Pp. lv, 596.) The volume contains unpublished official acts and correspondence pertinent to a study of the tariffs of Hamburg between the twelfth and early nineteenth century and references to material already printed. The earliest tax right (1188) belonged to the count of Schaumburg and his heirs, but Hamburg imposed additional taxes in and after the fourteenth century. Most of the correspondence concerns itself with protests and litigations over their imposition. The tariffs were ad valorem taxes on imports and exports of Hamburg and the Elbe River, and the income provided funds for harbor facilities, convoy service, and warships for use against pirates and enemies. Dr. Pitz also has supplied a very thorough introduction to the documents and the tariffs of the city.

*University of Cincinnati*

HILMAR C. KRUEGER

DIE AUSWÄRTIGE POLITIK MAXIMILIANS VON BAYERN, 1618-1635. By *Dieter Albrecht*. [Schriftenreihe der Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Number 6.] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1962. Pp. xix, 390. DM 45.) In his *Die deutsche Politik Papst Gregors XV* (1956), Professor Albrecht carefully analyzed the interplay of papal, Habsburg, and Wittelsbach policies between 1621 and 1623. Maximilian of Bavaria, of course, figured prominently in this highly creditable and even somewhat original study. Now Albrecht provides a more extended account of Maximilian's diplomatic undertakings to the French declaration of war in 1635. The machinations of an opportunist are bound to describe a devious path, and this path the author follows, with both skill and perseverance, in all its meanderings. Nowhere will one find a more dependable narrative, or one more securely grounded in archival research, of Maximilian's dealings with France, Spain, England, the Empire, the pope, Sweden, and Wallenstein. The book begins and ends



with references to Ranke's view that the policy of Maximilian was misguided because it subordinated Bavarian to Catholic and imperial interests. Albrecht holds that this verdict must now be modified. For all his sincere, if not disinterested, loyalty to Church and Empire, the Duke emerges as a sober, realistic statesman who, disinclined by nature to grand diplomatic adventures or the championship of great causes, pursued limited objectives by correspondingly cautious methods. This interpretation, though essentially sound, perhaps gives Maximilian a bit more than his due. It is somewhat at odds with Albrecht's own explanation of why the Duke strove so mightily for the electoral dignity and of the intrigues that led to the surrender of Munich in 1632. And it cannot entirely alter the fact that Maximilian's activities were circumscribed less by the modesty of his ambitions than by his lack of courage. The *Habilitationsschrift* tradition is not calculated to encourage an ascent to new literary heights, and none are attained here. But the style, if complicated, is acceptable, as the interpretations are generally judicious, and the result is a book of very considerable interest to the student of the Thirty Years' War.

Western Michigan University

WALTER J. BRUNHUMER

JUSTUS MÖSER: ADVOCATUS PATRIAE. By Ludwig Bäte. (Frankfurt am Main: Athenäum Verlag. 1961. Pp. 288. DM 24.) The beginnings of German nationalist historiography may be traced to Justus Möser (1720-1794), publicist, statesman, and historian. Born in the small bishopric of Osnabrück in Lower Saxony, Möser became *advocatus patriae* (state attorney) and held other legal offices. Like William Allen White, editor of the *Emporia Gazette*, he was the small-town intellectual whose influence was national in scope. Goethe called him "the magnificent Justus Möser, one of the most deserving men of our Fatherland." Möser's countrymen posthumously accorded him the veneration reserved for leading literary figures. An impassioned patriot, Möser censured the German princes for their shortsighted particularism and for their obstruction of a constitutional liberal state. Denouncing both the theory and practice of despotism, he pleaded for a national organic development in place of arbitrary laws imposed from above. A strong, healthy state, he warned, must come from the people, not in the egalitarian sense but from a people well organized in the vital rural estates and classes of the Middle Ages. Möser not only wrote the first German constitutional administrative history, but he also introduced the new field of social history to Germans. His master work, the uncompleted *Osnabrückische Geschichte* (10 volumes, 1842-1844), set a high standard for German historical writing. It has been reprinted again and again to the present day. Nearly two thousand works have been published in Germany on various phases of Möser's career. After several decades of work, Ludwig Bäte, a prolific writer on eighteenth-century themes, presents this new biography. It is a good, solid, useful contribution, even if little new is added to the picture we already have of the great publicist and historian. There are forty chapters, some very loosely connected. There is no documentation, and the bibliography is limited to two pages with the recommendation that the reader consult the 987 titles of Wolfgang Hollmann's book on Möser. Bäte is at his best when treating the milieu in which Möser worked. He is short on interpretation. There is little discussion of the role of Möser in German intellectual history, the significance of his voice against the cosmopolitan spirit of the *Aufklärung*, or his importance in the development of German nationalism. The author praises Möser's opposition to despotism, centralization, and bureaucracy, but he fails to see that while Möser understood the intellectual currents of the Enlightenment, he had little awareness of the deep political and economic changes of his time. Möser was inclined to esteem old things primarily because they were old.

City College of New York

LOUIS L. SNYDER

A VIEW OF THE SPREE. By *Alson J. Smith*. (New York: John Day Company, 1962. Pp. xiv, 305. \$5.95.) *A View of the Spree* tells the story of Mary Esther Lee, the daughter of a New York grocer and one of the most remarkable heiresses who ever traveled to Europe in search of a title. Extremely pious but also extremely ambitious, she rejected numerous suitors to marry the sixty-four-year-old Duke Frederick of Augustenburg, the controversial claimant to the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein and a man of great wealth in his own right. Duke Frederick died on his honeymoon, but not before making a will leaving his wife most of his personal fortune. Ten years later Mary Lee married Count Alfred von Waldersee, a high-ranking officer in the German army. In 1882 Waldersee was transferred to the general staff in Berlin, and from that time both he and his wife played a prominent role in the politics and intrigue of the German capital, where they assiduously cultivated the friendship of Prince William of Prussia, the future Kaiser William II. Prince William was evidently much attracted by the forceful personality of Countess Waldersee. Through her he became associated with the pious conservative coterie that included the anti-Semitic pastor Adolf Stöcker, an association that produced his first major quarrel with Bismarck. When Prince William became Kaiser in 1888, Waldersee was made chief of the general staff. Not content with that position, Waldersee intrigued constantly against Bismarck with the aim of becoming Chancellor in his own right. It would be fascinating to know what role Countess Waldersee played in her husband's intrigues. Unfortunately the present work, although full of sweeping statements about Countess Waldersee's influence, does nothing at all to provide authoritative information on the subject. Typical is the statement that the Kaiser's 1890 labor program "was, of course, almost entirely hers [as is obvious from the contents]." The author takes it for granted, on the basis of no better evidence than court and newspaper gossip, that Countess Waldersee became the Kaiser's mistress, although she was two years older than the Kaiser's mother and a very severe looking forty-four when she came to Berlin in 1882. Smith's fatuous generalizations and psychological platitudes are tiresome in the extreme, and his book contains many errors, as one might expect from any work that draws heavily on evidence supplied by the "monumental" biographies of Emil Ludwig ("perhaps the best biographer of recent times") and the "authoritative" memoirs of Prince Bülow. The major part of the book is supposed to be based on the Waldersee-Lee document collection at the Houghton Library, Harvard. From the present volume it is impossible to know whether this collection contains anything of importance, but a historian should check.

*Michigan State University*

NORMAN RICH

DAS PARLAMENTARISCHE RINGEN UM DAS SOZIALISTENGESETZ BIS-MARCKS, 1878-1890. By *Wolfgang Pack*. [Beiträge zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien, Number 20.] (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1961. Pp. 280.) The present work is one in a series devoted to the history of German parliamentary government and political parties. Pack has selected a key issue of the Bismarck period, and his aim has been to present "the most complete history possible of the Socialist law and its fate in the *Reichstag*, to describe the fights within and between the parties and between Bismarck and the representatives of the people in all its phases, with all arguments and counterarguments, alleged and actual motivations, successes and disappointments, in short, to clarify one of the most controversial chapters of Bismarck's domestic policy from the parliamentary point of view." Despite the ambitious, if not impossible, nature of the task, Pack has succeeded in presenting a clear picture of the political problems surrounding Bismarck's anti-Socialist law. His book is full of intelligent observations and insights, and, although he bewails the loss or destruction of some of the most important documentary collections pertaining to his subject, he has

nevertheless pulled together much interesting material on German party politics, much of it from party newspapers and political pamphlets. He has used the private papers of leaders of the Social Democratic party in the Amsterdam archives and the records of the German Ministry of Justice in the Bundesarchiv in Koblenz. The main lines of the story presented here, however, are well known, as is much of the evidence on which it is based. Pack's major conclusions about the Socialist law are in line with generally accepted views on the subject, and the new evidence he uses by no means resolves problems about which there are still wide differences of opinion. Pack believes that Bismarck regarded the Socialist law as his most effective weapon against these enemies of the state (he does not think that Bismarck purposely allowed the law to lapse in 1890), and that the law had the salutary effect of removing the revolutionary extremists from the Social Democratic party and turning it into a party that was prepared to cooperate positively in parliamentary government. On the other hand Pack is convinced that the Socialist law was the main reason Bismarck's social legislation so signally failed in winning the loyalty of the workers, for all workers saw themselves threatened and repressed by its provisions. The law intensified class conflict and widened the cleavages in German society. Meanwhile the Socialist movement was actually strengthened by the trials to which it was subjected. Pack concludes that "the disadvantages of the law greatly outweighed its usefulness, that it represented a great disappointment for Bismarck, and that it did so much harm that it took years before the worker once again regained a positive relationship to the state."

*Michigan State University*

NORMAN RICH

GENERAL WILLIAM GROENER AND THE IMPERIAL GERMAN ARMY. By *Helmut Haussler*. (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin for the Department of History, University of Wisconsin. 1962. Pp. xiv, 161. \$4.00.) This slim book deals with the career of Wilhelm Groener to the end of World War I. It is based in part on the general's unpublished papers and manuscripts. Since these materials apparently do not yield much new information, the narrative has been diluted with frequent excursions into other aspects of life in Wilhelminian Germany. Such expansion in this case makes for unevenness and repetition. The first two chapters treat Groener's formative years and his rise from the narrow confines of Württemberg's armed forces to the nerve center of the Prusso-German army, the great general staff. The third chapter contains a good discussion of Groener's crucial role, as head of the general staff's railway section, during the mobilization and early campaigns of the Great War. The two concluding chapters tell interestingly of Groener's wartime activities, culminating in his appointment to the position vacated by Ludendorff in the closing days of the war. There is no attempt at a summary or epilogue. The main criticism of the book is that it presents little that is really new, at least to the scholar and specialist. Its substance could have been more briefly and effectively presented in the form of a learned article. In addition, the book suffers from a number of avoidable flaws: missing footnotes, spelling mistakes, errors in translation from the German, and errors of fact. Finally, its index is far too skimpy to be of much use.

*Johns Hopkins University*

HANS W. GATZKE

DIE ANFÄNGE DER DEUTSCHEN VOLKSPARTEI, 1918-1920. By *Wolfgang Hartenstein*. [Beiträge zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien, Number 22.] (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag. 1962. Pp. 299.) Not only a first-rate monograph, Hartenstein's study also provides a better understanding of the Weimar party system and the qualities of DVP party leader Gustav Stresemann. The author has the gift of asking the right questions though the unavailability of materials sometimes

prevents definitive answers. The organization is topical rather than chronological, a treatment that demands from the reader a high degree of previous familiarity with the subject matter. The main topics covered are: the reasons why German Liberalism remained split between a Right and a Left Wing in 1918, with Hartenstein providing a multifaceted explanation in terms of politics, institutions, traditions, and personalities; the attitude of the DVP toward the other parties, with special emphasis on the reasons why Stresemann opposed fusion with the Conservatives (DNVP) in 1919; the discreditable performance of the DVP at the time of the Kapp *Putsch*; and the internal workings of the party machine. Hartenstein's special strength lies in "sociological analysis." He explores such questions as the party's "decision-making process," the role played by interest groups, and the structure of DVP voters as revealed by voting statistics. The reader will be grateful for these pioneering analyses while regretting that the author did not provide more of the same kind. He has too little to say about party membership (as contrasted with voters), candidate selection, party finance, and the relationship between the party and its parliamentary *Fraktion*. The working of the party is seen too much through the eyes of the Berlin central office, with inadequate attention paid to regional organization and differentiation. There is too little explicit discussion of the internal cleavages within the party and, most important of all, remarkably little concerning the program and policy of the DVP on foreign, constitutional, and economic questions. Stresemann appears as a very great party leader who was never at a loss for a compromise whenever disunity threatened. The book is the first to thoroughly exploit the Stresemann papers for the purposes of internal policy, and thereby fills a glaring gap in all previous Stresemann studies. The resulting picture is one of a slippery and sometimes unvarnished party operator, a picture somewhat different from the conventional stereotype of the "great foreign minister," though in no way incompatible with it. Hartenstein has the rare merit of not identifying himself with his subject matter: his attitude toward Stresemann remains cool, and he occasionally ridicules both the restorationist "ultimate aims" and the demagogic "immediate means" of the DVP.

Brown University

KLAUS EPSTEIN

DIE HITLERBEWEGUNG. Volume I, DER URSPRUNG, 1919-1922. By Georg Franz-Willing. (Hamburg: R. v. Decker's Verlag G. Schenck. 1962. Pp. 256. DM 24.) Subject to serious reservations noted below, this is doubtless the best-informed study that has appeared on the beginnings of National Socialism in Bavaria. After discussing briefly the war and the revolutionary currents growing out of it, Franz-Willing launches his study with the Munich revolution of November 1918; treats over rapidly the Munich Soviet Republic and, relying strongly on Sebottendorff's *Bevor Hitler kam*, with the Rightist resistance represented especially by the *Thule-Gesellschaft*; and brings the tale of the Bavarian counterrevolution to the accession of the first Kahr government in March 1920. Then he turns to his principal theme. He uses extensively material from the NSDAP Hauptarchiv in the Berlin Document Center without mentioning this collection and refers consistently to these documents as *Privatbesitz*. (Indeed, the prehistory of this volume does not inspire confidence in it.) The small beginnings of the *Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* under Anton Drexler are recounted, the incoming of "intellectuals" like Dietrich Eckart, military men like Röhm, and their manipulation of the small workers and tradesmen originally composing the party. Hitler's rise to party leadership is told in detail, with a particularly significant account of the internal *Putsch* in 1921 that made him the party's dictator. A study of the "sociology" of the early NSDAP follows, with data on occupations and age of members and short biographies of early leading figures. It is interesting to observe the proportion of members not readily assignable to the petty bourgeoisie. Then come chapters on the *Sturmabteilungen*, propaganda, the or-

ganization of the party, and the fullest account known to me of its financing from 1919 to 1923. There is little evidence of large-scale support then from big industry, and much for financial aid by a strange conglomeration of businessmen, the *Reichswehr*, women attracted by Hitler, anti-Semites, a broad grouping of those who would back anything opposed to the Left, and also for the misguided devotion of the rank and file who, until the shift toward a largely military setup in 1923, contributed much enthusiasm for little money. This volume, first of a series planned to carry the history of the "Hitler movement" to 1934, concludes with a discussion of the attitudes of Bavarian governments toward the Nazis, from Kahr in 1920 to Knilling in 1923. The author shows impressive knowledge of the material. He has used, in addition to the documents in the Berlin Document Center, unpublished memoirs of *Staatsrat* Schmelzle and Major Siry, the diary of Escherisch, creator of the *Einwohnerwehr*, and unpublished correspondence and personal comments by many participants in the early movement. He has studied effectively the Bavarian and Munich archives, has perused the contemporary newspaper press carefully, and knows the published literature well. But it must be said that the book follows throughout an apologetic line, with repeated references to idealism and *Opferfreudigkeit*, a picture of early National Socialism as essentially a justified reaction to revolution and Leftist terror and to the alleged vindictiveness of the Allies. This tone dominates, and not the occasional tongue-clucking disapproval of the doctrines and the terror that, even in those years, revealed the Hitler movement for what it was.

Harvard University

REGINALD H. PHELPS

DER HITLERPUTSCH: KRISENJAHRE DEUTSCHER GESCHICHTE, 1920-1924. By *Hanns Hubert Hofmann*. (Munich: Nymphenburger Verlagshandlung, 1961. Pp. 355.) Seldom has a historian defined for himself so carefully and so idealistically his goals as does the author of this new book on the Hitler *Putzsch* of 1923. He is much concerned with the dangers lurking in the pathway of one who writes contemporary history, particularly in Germany where he feels opposing "crusades" and ideologies have warped historical objectivity. He quotes as his motto the conclusion of the Conference of the Ranke Society in 1954 that the trauma of National Socialism was not to be healed "by methods of opposing propaganda, but rather by methods of truth, that is, by the methods of exact, scientific research, which will not surrender the ideal of justice." Unfortunately, Hofmann's definition of scientific research includes what he labels "the effort for psychological penetration and positive cognition." As a consequence, in numerous places psychological intuition takes precedence over objective evaluation. The most serious of the vagaries of Hofmann's account relates to Hitler's motives in the *Putzsch* itself. Here Hofmann repeatedly states that Hitler was not really trying to grasp the power of the state for himself but to create an "Initialzündung," a spark to set fire to the smoldering enthusiasm of the nationalists. But Hofmann provides no new evidence to support this conclusion. Rather, he sketches again the familiar scenes, with Hitler's demand that Kahr, Lossow, and Seisser "go along with me" and his reference to a "Reichsregierung Hitler." Hofmann's conclusion remains unsupported by anything save his own intuition. Although not free from an almost emotional bitterness against the Bavarian "triumvirate" of Kahr, Lossow, and Seisser, Hofmann's description of their revolutionary plans is careful and well documented. These plans, in turn, were a manifestation of the closing days of the *Nachkrieg* period of confusion and uncertainty and were concerted with similar designs of Von Seeckt for the creation of a revolutionary "directory" in Berlin. One is inclined to agree with Hofmann that Hitler was no more guilty of treason than those who tried him and that it would have been better if he had not been tried. With the trial and Hitler's subsequent incarceration came the end of the *Nachkrieg* and, as Hofmann shows, Hitler adjusted more quickly than did most of his



followers, divorcing himself from the position of drummer boy for the nationalist and militarist forces of Bavaria and creating a completely new and independent party devoted to legality and propaganda, to politics rather than revolution. His real rise to power began in 1924.

*Florida State University*

EARL R. BECK

HITLERS ZWEITES BUCH: EIN DOKUMENT AUS DEM JAHR 1928. Edited by *Gerhard L. Weinberg*. Foreword by *Hans Rothfels*. [Quellen und Darstellungen zur Zeitgeschichte, Number 7.] (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. 1961. Pp. 227.) This document seems authentic; it sounds like Hitler, from the swollen periodic sentences loaded with abstract nouns to the outbursts of personal fury. The attitudes and details are consistent with his authorship, and the time of composition is clearly the summer of 1928. Still, one would welcome fuller information from Josef Berg of the Eher-Verlag about his possession of the typescript; one wonders what became of a microfilm apparently made in 1945, and where the document itself was before its identification in 1958. The work is over one-third the length of *Mein Kampf*. Despite long preliminaries about the struggle for existence, the error of basing foreign policy on economics, the racial determinants of history, and so on, the impression, even more than with *Mein Kampf*, is that of a polemic for immediate use. Hitler devotes much space to proving that South Tirol is unimportant, and that bourgeois politicians and *vaterländische Verbände* perturbed about it are knaves or fools. The resemblance to a typical Hitler speech is enhanced by references to his years at the front, to the current cultural morass of which he cites Křenek's opera *Jonny spielt auf* as an example, and to the failings of Stresemann. The Church gets little attention, though Hitler's insistent playing down of South Tirol may partly arise from his inability to deny that Catholicism was allied with national feelings against Italian Fascism there. The familiar themes recur: *Lebenskampf*, conquest in the East, the vanity of restoring the borders of 1914, the follies of Bismarck's successors (how curious that he never attacks Bismarck for acquiring those worthless colonies and for establishing parliamentary institutions in the Empire!). England ought to be an ally because its interests would not be affected by a Germany concerned with the Continent; Italy also, since it was Fascist, and its sphere likewise distant from Germany's. The United States receives some attention, chiefly because, having acquired the best "blood" of Europe's emigrants, it might overcome a degenerate Europe; this theme is left dangling on Hitler's premise that a German-led Europe would be its own sphere of influence. In sum, this is an interesting but not too exciting find.

*Harvard University*

REGINALD H. PHELPS

NATIONALSOZIALISTISCHE POLENPOLITIK, 1939-1945. By *Martin Broszat*. [Schriftenreihe der Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte, Number 2.] (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. 1961. Pp. 200.) The uniform excellence of Martin Broszat's monograph will be no surprise to American scholars familiar with the work of the *Institut für Zeitgeschichte* in Munich of which Broszat is a staff member. The author is a master of organization and detail, which is not only uncommon in German scholarship but especially difficult in the area of Nazi imperialism with its crosscurrents of political influence and complex administrative structures. Of particular interest to American scholars will be the extensive and effective use he makes of hitherto unused Interior Ministry records in the Hauptarchiv Berlin-Dahlem (the former Preussisches Geheimes Staatsarchiv) and the *Reichskanzlei* records of the Bundesarchiv in Koblenz to show behind-the-scenes struggles and decisions which resulted in the *Polenpolitik* reflected in the Nuremberg documents of the International Military Tribunal and United States Military Tribunal



case eight. The book opens with two short but interesting sections on the early German conception of a Polish "rump state" and on the typical Nazi combination of improvisation and chaotic terror in 1939-1940 which created such a new set of conditions that Polish and German rapprochement became virtually impossible and remained so even later when the Nazis wanted it for tactical reasons. After this "Schaffung vollendeter Tatsachen" (creation of *faits accomplis*) the Nazis settled down to an overly elaborate organizational division of the spoils, well described by Broszat in his third section. The fourth section is devoted to population transfer with quite proper emphasis on the fate of the Poles rather than that of the Jews or of the new German settlers. A fifth section gives excellent summaries of the *Deutsche Volksliste* (DVL) and *Wiedereindeutschung* (WED) procedures used to assimilate Poles, of the characteristically special judicial processes with regard to Poles, and the radical anticlerical policies applied in the Warthegau (the Posen, Hohensalza, and Łódź districts). Hans Frank's anomalous "kingdom" of the general government is discussed separately both as to its structure and its policies. This is a workmanlike survey of relative brevity based on a wealth of research detail in the notes. More narrow monographic studies will certainly continue to appear for the specific regions and aspects of the program, especially from Polish scholars, but Broszat has given every problem a thorough analysis and has shown the basic relationships involved.

*University of Nebraska*

ROBERT KOEHL

GERMAN CATHOLICS AND HITLER'S WARS: A STUDY IN SOCIAL CONTROL. By *Gordon C. Zahn*. (New York: Sheed and Ward. 1962. Pp. vi, 232. \$4.75.) Zahn's monograph is an exhaustive examination of a single problem: why was there no significant resistance among German Catholics to Hitler's obviously "unjust wars"? Though the author, who is a Catholic sociologist at Loyola University, specifically disclaims making a "historical inquiry," his book is of great interest to historians. Some readers will be annoyed by the overuse of sociological jargon, as when Zahn explains the pressures upon German Catholics as the "social control dimension" and the duty of German Catholics to choose between Nazism and Catholicism as "the value selection dimension." Readers primarily concerned with historical problems will question Zahn's obvious preoccupation with the "socio-theological implications" of his study. He argues explicitly that "just wars" have been made obsolete by the advance of technology (and incidentally criticizes the failure of American Catholics to speak up against strategic bombing and unconditional surrender in World War II), that the Church should avoid accommodation with totalitarian regimes like the concordat of 1933, and that the lax character of modern Catholic theology has put martyrdom at a discount. Whatever the merit or demerit of these contentions, they do not detract from the very great value of Zahn's research on the problem of why German Catholics generally supported Hitler's wars. He shows that they performed their "patriotic" duty at the side of their non-Catholic fellow countrymen because they shared the characteristic authoritarian, militarist, and nationalist values so skillfully exploited by the Nazi government. They were frequently unaware of the deep gulf separating Nazi from Catholic attitudes toward war, and they failed to get proper guidance from their bishops. Though Zahn explicitly repudiates any "indictment of the spiritual leadership of Germany's Catholics," his main theme is nonetheless *la trahison des évêques*. All of Germany's bishops—even those who, like Cardinals Galen and Faulhaber, courageously opposed the Nazis on such specific points as euthanasia and racialism—exhorted Germany's soldiers to perform their military service as a religious duty. Zahn explains their conduct as partly due to prudence, which dictated the avoidance of a hopeless conflict with Nazism, but he also stresses the fact that the bishops shared prevalent German attitudes

toward nationalism and the obedience owed to a "legitimate government" (which Nazism remained in their eyes). He documents his explanation by innumerable references to pastoral letters. The inclusion of German originals of all important translated passages in the footnote apparatus enhances the value of the study. The author's harsh judgments might have been mitigated by greater sympathy for the Church view that freedom to administer sacraments (vital for salvation) justifies broad concessions to tyrannical governments; while a broader historical perspective would have taken into account the fact that the Church has never condemned any specific aggressive war in modern history (unless directed against the temporal power). The special attraction of Zahn's study is, however, the combination of minute research with passionate engagement. His one-sided and "unhistorical" judgments are more than compensated for by his lively interest in the burning issues involved.

*Brown University*

KLAUS EPSTEIN

GERMAN RESISTANCE TO . . . HITLER: ETHICAL AND RELIGIOUS FACTORS. By *Mother Mary Alice Gallin, O.S.U.* (Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1961. Pp. 259. Cloth \$4.95, paper \$3.75.) This is a reprint of a doctoral dissertation published in 1955 with a new chapter inserted after the conclusion. The purpose of this interesting study is to probe the ethical problems faced and surmounted by those Germans who turned against their government in the National Socialist period. The careful distinction made between the issues during peacetime and wartime enhances the value of the work. The author has made good use of unpublished material from the State Department archives; no account, however, could be taken of anything published since 1954 or of the German archives opened since that time. The analysis is generally very perceptive, but the author's view has been constricted by her sources on two major points. The importance of the oath to Hitler is never examined in perspective: most of those who claimed that they were inhibited by it had earlier sworn an oath to the Weimar Republic and another oath to uphold its laws which included the Treaty of Versailles. The contrast between the crises of 1938 and 1939 is not made clear: both times Ernst von Weizsaecker urged the West both to make concessions and to stand firm. After 1938, he blamed them for doing the one, after 1939, for doing the other. The Germans had to make the first move themselves. Those willing to do so—often because of their basic religious beliefs and in spite of the traditions of German Protestant and Catholic theology—are worthily remembered in this fine book.

*University of Michigan*

GERHARD L. WEINBERG

HOHENZOLLERN IN DER GESCHICHTE. By *Walther Hubatsch*. (Frankfurt am Main: Athenäum Verlag, 1961. Pp. 119. DM 4.50.) This volume contains four essays, the first giving the title to the book, and the remaining ones dealing with three Hohenzollerns, Cardinal Albrecht von Brandenburg of Luther's time, King Frederick William III, and Emperor William II. The author compares Hohenzollern words and actions with those of both foreign and German contemporaries, reaching some interesting conclusions, particularly in the first and fourth essays. "In spite of several personal failures," he writes, "the end of the monarchy did not come about in Germany, or in Austria-Hungary, as a result of this institution's having outlived itself but rather through the effect of ideological warfare and hunger blockade from outside." In evaluating the Hohenzollerns, the author quotes with approval Ranke's statement that the epochs of history are "unmittelbar zu Gott," an article of faith that I find a little hard on God.

*University of California, Los Angeles*

EUGENE N. ANDERSON

STATO E CHIESA: LA LEGISLAZIONE ECCLESIASTICA FINO AL 1867. By *Giuliana d'Amelio*. [L'Organizzazione dello Stato: Collana di studi e testi nel Centenario dell'Unità, Number 8.] (Milan: Dott. A. Giuffrè, Editore. 1961. Pp. xvi, 636. L. 4,000.) Even those having only a perfunctory acquaintance with the *Risorgimento* know that the most persistent and bedeviling problem in it was the dilemma of Church and state. "A Free Church in a Free State" were among Cavour's last words, but his confidence in this accomplishment appears to have been as misplaced as that expressed in his very last words: "Italy is made—all is safe." Though the problem still exists one hundred years later, collections of documents like this one help us to pierce the fogs of polemic and come to a better understanding of the nature of the problem. As the preface to this volume tells us, the dynamics of the *Risorgimento* were the direct antithesis of the ideological and political position of the Church, and the question was not one of establishing "The Italian State," but of setting up a "Modern Italian State," one based on "law, laity and liberalism." Father Pirri's excellent volumes on this same matter of Church and state are more revealing and certainly more interesting than the present compilation, which is made up largely of public documents and speeches, but it will serve its intended purpose among the eleven volumes documenting the founding of the Italian state.

*Northwestern University*

GEORGE T. ROMANI

LE FORZE ARMATE NELLA ETÀ DELLA DESTRA. By *Piero Pieri*. [L'Organizzazione dello Stato: Collana di studi e testi nel Centenario dell'Unità, Number 7.] (Milan: Dott. A. Giuffrè, Editore. 1962. Pp. xii, 497. L. 3,500.) This collection of documents concerns the formation of the new Italy's armed forces under Cavour and his Liberal successors (1852–1876) and contains a lucid eighty-seven-page introductory essay by the well-known military historian Piero Pieri. The old Piedmont had a notable military tradition, based on the service of a court and provincial nobility, and, more recently, on the Napoleonic experience. Yet the House of Savoy's army in 1848–1849 had rendered manful but hardly brilliant service, and the new Liberal state had to reorganize it thoroughly. Piedmont's Liberal rulers provided for a "professional army" on the French model with broad exemptions for the educated classes, but their army remained a deeply conservative institution. In Piedmont, as elsewhere, the national bourgeoisie was slow to shoulder the legally enacted burden of universal military service, and the Piedmontese army never took on a truly national character. In fact, much of the actual military work of Italian unification was carried out by volunteer militia, Republican in leadership. The volunteer corps of 1859–1860, the nearest Italy came to a citizen army, was used, acclaimed, and then, during the hectic early months of 1861, hastily mustered out, lest it upset the new state's domestic and international balance. Pieri points out that Garibaldi's militiamen would indeed have ruined Cavour's political masterwork had they been allowed to march on Venice or Rome prematurely, but that they would have served well in the South, which they had won for Italy a year before. Instead the pacification of the bandit-ridden southern countryside was entrusted to the Royal Army, still predominantly Piedmontese. What had started as a democratic liberation came shortly to resemble a foreign conquest; the military problem of the *Risorgimento* reflects sharply the politics of the Italian moderate ruling classes. The "conquest" of the southern provinces was necessary because the government feared Garibaldi's democracy in arms. Garibaldi's officers saw their former foes pass into the new army of Italy with unchanged rank, while they themselves were often kept out. The Italian army faithfully mirrored the regime it served. Though it accomplished much in the national interest, it remained an instrument of oligarchy and class rule, constitutional but not democratic. Even the reforms of 1870–1876, which set up a mass

army of the Prussian type, with really universal service, did not give Italy a citizen army. Conscription was carried out by prefects and army districts rather than local authority. Though the army in the long run was a real force making for national unity, it never gained the popular inheritance of Garibaldi.

*University of California, Berkeley*

RICHARD A. WEBSTER

MICHEL BAKOUNINE ET L'ITALIE, 1871-1872. Part 1, LA POLÉMIQUE AVEC MAZZINI: ÉCRITS ET MATÉRIAUX. Text edited and annotated by *Arthur Lehning*. [Archives Bakounine, Volume I.] (Leiden: E. J. Brill for the International Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis, Amsterdam. 1961. Pp. liv, 352. Glds. 55.) Publication of a French edition of Bakunin's *Oeuvres*, begun in 1895, ceased, far from complete, with Volume VI (1913). (The six volumes range over the period 1868-1872.) A seventh volume, prepared by James Guillaume but never published, moved further into Bakunin's Italian activity. The editors of the present series intend, in substance, to utilize the materials of the International Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis to perfect the unpublished seventh. *La Polémique avec Mazzini*, therefore, may be regarded as a first supplement to the Guillaume *Oeuvres*. The volume is built around an uncompleted booklet of Bakunin's, *La Théologie politique de Mazzini et l'Internationale* (1871). Pages 3-12 consist of the introduction, which had been published earlier by Bakunin as "Réponse d'un Internationale à Mazzini," is well known under that title and appears in Volume VI of the *Oeuvres* (and in the Russian edition). Pages 21-77 consist of Part One, all but the last fraction of which was published by Bakunin, but which does not appear in any collection. Pages 111-278, consisting of Bakunin's notes, all hitherto unpublished, form Part Two. Among other items included is the 1871 Italian version of the "Risposta." Occasioned by Mazzini's attacks on the Paris Commune, the *Théologie politique* is a document of prime importance in the birth of the Italian anarchist movement. The conflict between revolutionary internationalism and liberal nationalism was perceived clearly by Bakunin, who set this conflict in the nexus of materialist versus idealist, the people versus the state, the poor versus the wealthy, the revolution versus education in morality. In part, Bakunin was pursuing the themes of *l'Empire knouto-germanique* (especially in the section abstracted as "God and the State"). Bakunin is no easy figure with whom to come to grips. His ideas were rarely original, but he was not essentially a man of ideas. Biographically we have nothing adequate; one who approaches him through English translation in G. P. Maximoff's selections (*The Political Philosophy of Bakunin: Scientific Anarchism* [1953]) will gain an entirely false impression from the oracular character which isolated paragraphs acquire, due to Maximoff's determination to demonstrate the existence of a Bakunin philosophy. One does best to start off with such polemical writings as the present, and immerse oneself in them, and through all this philosophizing, as obligatory in the nineteenth century as psychologizing in the twentieth, one may begin to feel a man emerge. Edited with love and scholarly care, handsomely printed, the present volume is a welcome contribution.

*Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute*

DAVID THOREAU WIECK

I DOCUMENTI DIPLOMATICI ITALIANI. Ninth Series: 1939-1943. Volume II (25 OTTOBRE-31 DICEMBRE 1939). (Rome: Ministero degli Affari Esteri. 1957. Pp. lxxvi, 703.) The Italian diplomatic correspondence published in this volume covers a period of a little over two months in 1939, from the day following Ribbentrop's speech at Danzig to the end of the year. A few of the documents have been published previously, mainly by Mario Toscano, editor of the volume, but the overwhelming majority of the 778 documents, plus those in the appendixes, is printed here for the first

time. Some few of the documents have deteriorated from humidity to the point of being illegible in places. There are no surprises since the closing weeks of 1939 were not marked by any great activity on Italy's part in foreign affairs. The end of 1939 was a time of waiting for Italy, to see where and when the Germans would strike next, what the Soviet Union would do, and what would happen in the Balkans. The documents bring out Italy's concern over British measures of blockade against Germany and over Italian shortages in raw materials, especially in coal and iron. The records show the Italian government's interest in the formation of a Balkan bloc, the sympathy of the government for Finland, and Italy's efforts to help the Finns after they had been attacked by the Soviet Union. These efforts were thwarted by the German government which refused to grant passage across Germany. The documents bring out the sensitiveness of Italians to Ribbentrop's charge that the British had entered the war because they knew in advance that Italy would remain neutral—a charge that Ciano went to some lengths to deny. Other topics treated are the Italian reaction to the Anglo-French-Turkish pact, the Italo-Greek exchange of notes, the Italo-German Alto Adige agreement, the mediation offer of the rulers of Belgium and the Netherlands, Russo-Finnish negotiations, Russo-German relations, the Wohlthat mission to Spain, Molotov's speech of October 31, Hitler's Nuremberg talk of November 8, and Ciano's address of December 16 to the Chamber of Corporations. The volume maintains the high standards of editorial excellence that Toscano and his colleagues established at the outset of their work.

*University of Michigan*

HOWARD M. EHRLMANN

DOCUMENTE PRIVIND UNIREA PRINCIPATELOR. Volume I, DOCUMENTE INTERNE (1854-1857). Edited by *Dan Berindei et al.* [Academia Republicii Populare Romîne, Institutul de Istorie.] (Bucharest: the Academia. [1961.] Pp. xciv, 778. Lei 38.30.) Among the activities undertaken to commemorate the union of the Danubian Principalities was the decision to prepare and publish five volumes of documents relating to domestic and external aspects of unification. The present volume, edited under the auspices of the Institute of History of the Academy of the Rumanian People's Republic, comprises domestic administrative documents for the years 1856-1857 and materials from 1854 to 1855 dealing with the return of the exiled revolutionaries of 1848. According to the general editor the materials are new and were not published in the collection *Acte și documente relative la istoria nașterii Romîniei*, which appeared at the turn of the century. These were critical years in the Rumanian movement for national unity, and the story is an exceptionally complicated one. The themes covered in this volume include the revival of national aspirations, the incredible confusion connected with the elections to the divans *ad hoc*, the annulment of the rigged Moldavian elections, and the first actions of the new chambers. Conscientiously edited, the work provides a useful brief résumé of each of the 841 documents. While some spellings have been modernized, most of the documents are presented in their original form. This is a welcome source of information for a very important period of Rumanian history.

*Columbia University*

HENRY L. ROBERTS

REINTERPRETATION OF HISTORY AS A METHOD OF FURTHERING COMMUNISM IN RUMANIA: A STUDY IN COMPARATIVE HISTORIOGRAPHY. By *Michael J. Rura*. (Washington, D. C.: Georgetown University Press. 1961. Pp. xi, 123. \$2.50.) In this first major contribution to Rumanian historiography since P. Henry's masterful essays of some twenty years ago, Michael Rura shows how the reinterpretation of history has become an instrument of political action in Communist



Rumania. The author concerns himself primarily with the methods used by Communist historians in their efforts to rewrite the history of Rumania: "omission," "substitution," "emphasis," and "corruption." These terms are used to indicate deviation from earlier standard interpretations. Rura proves his propositions forcefully, and his indictment of current Rumanian historiography is based on carefully selected excerpts from the writings of Rumanian historians since 1948. There can be little argument with the author's fundamental contentions regarding the general nature and purpose of current historical scholarship in Rumania. The book presents, however, only a limited view of both the traditional and Communist approaches. In this lies the main weakness of Rura's work. Accepting both the methodology and the interpretations of nationalist historians like Nicolae Iorga and A. D. Xenopol as the authoritative criteria of sound scholarship, the author condemns such extremist Communist historians as Mihail Roller and Vasile Maciu. None of these men have produced works that stand the test of modern historical scholarship. It would have reinforced both the accuracy of the analysis and the validity of the conclusions had the author evaluated Communist scholarship in terms of deviations from the basic studies of C. C. Giurescu with the corrigenda by P. P. Panaitescu, A. Ţetea, and the several distinguished contributors to the *Revista Istorică Română*. Had he also consulted Panaitescu's and Ţetea's writings since 1948 and the serious studies of other Rumanian Marxist historians rather than limiting himself to the works of political polemicists, he would have had greater difficulty in proving his thesis. Since most writers of Rumanian history are adherents of either Iorga or Roller and their schools, however, reconsideration of the problems along the lines suggested above would raise fundamental historiographic questions which are beyond the aim and scope of Rura's present study.

Wayne State University

STEPHEN FISCHER-GALATI

HISTORICA III: HISTORICAL SCIENCES IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA. (Prague: Publishing House of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. 1961. Pp. 387. 56.50 Kčs.) This volume is the third in a series of annual publications by the Historical Section of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. The purpose of the series is to present to Western scholars the product of Czechoslovak historical research by translating some of the more important contributions into a Western language. Like its predecessors, this volume contains an annotated bibliography (in French) of works relating to the theory and history of art in Czechoslovakia. An annotated bibliography on Czechoslovak folklore (1940-1959) follows in English. There is a French summary of the proceedings of conferences in history and archaeology held in Czechoslovakia in 1959. In contrast to the previous volumes the section on Czechoslovak historiography is very brief. More than half of the main section of the book is devoted to the period since 1914. The longest article is one in English by Alice Teichová, "Great Britain in European Affairs (March 15 to August 21, 1939)." It seeks to justify Russia's conclusion of her nonaggression pact of August 23, 1939, with Germany on the ground that Great Britain had been engaged in secret negotiations with the Germans and that these negotiations had proceeded quite far before the start of the negotiations between the Germans and the Russians. It is significant that Czechoslovak historians are dealing again with the nationality question which for a time had been more or less ignored. Three articles are devoted to that topic: Jiří Kořalka, "The German-Austrian National Question and the Beginning of the Social Democratic Party" (in German); Juraj Kramer, "Foreign Influences on the Development of the Slovak Autonomist Movement" (in German); and Jaroslav César and Bohumil Černý, "German Irredentist Putsch in the Czech Lands after the First World War" (in English). These three articles are based on a considerable amount of original research and represent a sig-



nificant contribution. Ivan Borkovský presents the archaeological findings in the excavations on the Hradčany, the castle overlooking Prague, accompanied by extensive pictures. Pictures also accompany Zdeněk Wirth's article on the Czech renaissance. Both of these articles are in German. Articles on the problem of the Helots in Sparta (in English), on the history of the Marcomanni (in German), and on the Tirolean peasant war of 1525 (in Italian) complete this volume.

*University of Connecticut*

CURT F. BECK

AN INTRODUCTION TO NINETEENTH-CENTURY RUSSIAN SLAVOPHILISM: A STUDY IN IDEAS. Volume I, A. S. XOMJAKOV. By *Peter K. Christoff*. [Slavistic Printings and Reprintings, Number 23.] (The Hague: Mouton & Co. 1961. Pp. 301.) As Christoff's rich and suggestive bibliography illustrates, much has been written on Slavophilism. Yet there exists no well-documented and comprehensive study of the ideas that proved so influential and seminal in the history of Russian religious, philosophical, and political thinking. We should welcome Christoff's ambitious effort at filling this gap with the planned publication of a volume on each of four principal Moscow Slavophiles, A. Xomjakov, Ivan Kireevskij, K. Aksakov, and Ju. Samarin. Unfortunately, Christoff has chosen, on no clearly justifiable grounds, to set some very narrow limits to his task. He is content to summarize and describe the discussions and writings of the leading Slavophiles. Little wonder that the reader's appetite is not satisfied. Following the plan of an eminent French predecessor in the field, A. Gratieux, Christoff subdivides his volume into two parts: historical and topical. In the first is a chronological account of the formation and career of Slavophile circles and journals in Moscow in the 1830's and 1840's. The spotlight is on A. S. Xomjakov (usually transliterated Khomiakov), the recognized public leader of the "movement." Because Christoff does not want to write a full biography, the reader has the impression of having become acquainted with shadows rather than with real historical figures, of having caught only snatches of drawing-room conversations, rather than having listened in on the actual discussions and debates. The second part contains an exposition of Khomiakov's, and the Slavophiles', ideas on religion, education, government, and serfdom. Christoff's summaries are accurate and clear and will be welcomed by students of Russian history. But he avoids discussing fully the sources and underlying philosophic principles of the Slavophile positions, and he does not endeavor to analyze the relationship and import (within the total "ideology") of individual notions. Without denying that Slavophile ideas have their roots in Western thought, Christoff asserts that they were essentially a Russian creation. But the assertion is not adequately illustrated, let alone convincingly argued. The Slavophiles derived their basic notions and presuppositions from German idealistic philosophy and adapted and transformed them in the light of Russia's special circumstances and their own particular religious and social concerns. An adequate treatment of Slavophile ideas should account for the adaptation and transformation. If "a study in ideas," the subtitle of the series, is to help us toward an understanding of the role played by intellectual effort in shaping the history of a people or society, it ought to be more than a descriptive summary of ideas held by shadowy figures. Christoff's clumsy, and on occasion incorrect, writing seriously detracts from the results of his conscientious and dedicated efforts in assembling much valuable documentation and information. Let us hope that in his subsequent volumes Christoff will give his labor and scholarship the benefits of good stylistic and editorial advice.

*Columbia University*

MARC RAEFF

A HISTORY OF SOVIET AIR POWER. By *Robert A. Kilmarx*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1962. Pp. vii, 359. \$7.50.) In a brief 281 pages of text this vol-

ume traces the Soviet Air Force from its tsarist origins to the present day. The proportions of the book are revealing: 170 pages for the pre-World War II period, 49 pages for World War II, and 62 pages for the years since 1945. Essentially, this is a descriptive narrative organized topically under six time periods. Such subjects as organization, aircraft and unit strength, aircraft and engine production, and aeronautical research recur in most of the six chapters; the author also pays attention to combat operations, although the scantiness of the treatment reflects clearly the lack of adequate source materials. It is unfortunate that Kilmarx does not include a preface or foreword containing some discussion of the problems involved in writing a book on this subject, especially the Russian sources available and his technique for evaluating them. Inevitably, a book on any aspect of a closed society such as that of the Soviet Union is only as strong as its sources of information. This study cites Russian sources, much more frequently in the earlier chapters than in the last two, but the greater part of the study is based on Western sources, most of them secondary works or journalistic accounts. The author uses American military attaché accounts for the years before World War II as his chief primary sources, but even these are essentially intelligence information and therefore require careful evaluation rather than routine acceptance. This book has little to offer for the period since 1941, but for the earlier period it is a useful source on the Soviet Air Force. Kilmarx could have made a much more valuable contribution to the subject by devoting his whole work to the period prior to 1941.

Washington, D. C.

ALFRED GOLDBERG

THE SOVIET REVOLUTION, 1917-1939. By *Raphael R. Abramovitch*. Introduction by *Sidney Hook*. (New York: International Universities Press. 1962. Pp. xviii, 473. \$7.50.) Many practicing historians have little sympathy for this kind of book; its author was one of the vanquished, yet the book is a commentary on the victors. Still the book is important and is highly recommended. Raphael Abramovitch, an internationalist Menshevik and a Bundist, was a participant in many of the events of 1917 and thereafter, which he describes, and he was a close witness to many more. He helped found the most important non-Soviet Socialist journal, *Sotsialisticheskii vestnik*, and contributed to it regularly over many years. This book has then an underlying theme: the real revisionists are and have been the leaders of the Soviet state. Stalin in particular destroyed the essential meaning of Marxism through his paranoiac thrust for power and his willingness to obliterate anyone and everything standing in the way. By the same token the "Democratic" Socialists, within the Soviet Union and without, have preserved the faith, and the faith implies a regard for individual human dignity and life and a reticence to tyrannize the minority for the presumed sake of the necessities of power and material progress. Herein lies the author's dilemma: is social and economic progress justified at the expense of human dignity and life? His answer is a proud "no," but his answer relegated him to the backwash of history. This is not a book of memoirs, a thorough, balanced history of the Revolution, nor a philosophical interpretation of it; it is something of each. Abramovitch has selected those incidents and subjects that best illustrate the descent of the Bolsheviks to the mire of despotism, dishonesty, assassination, and wholesale murder. Much of the book deals with matters that cannot be proven by the usual documentation, and Abramovitch necessarily depends heavily not only upon his own memory and the recollections of others, but upon hearsay and at times even gossip. He utilizes many of the standard authorities: Trotsky, Sukhanov, E. H. Carr, Kennan, Degras, and D. J. Dallin, among others. There is little new in the book, although Abramovitch fills in many fascinating details, and some episodes in the Revolution become clearer and sharper. The book does not have the flourish of Trotsky's works, the intimacy of Sukhanov's, nor the comprehensiveness

of Carr's. But it is highly recommended not only to those interested in the Soviet Revolution, but to all who are concerned with the dilemma of individuality and social progress.

*University of North Carolina*

C. M. FOUST

#### NEAR EAST

THE STORY OF CYPRUS MINES CORPORATION. By *David Lavender*. [Huntington Library Publications.] (San Marino, Calif.: the Library. 1962. Pp. x, 387. \$7.50.) The central theme of this work is the story of a twentieth-century American mining corporation operating on the island of Cyprus. But it is much more than the usual biography of a business and its principal figures. Though neither of these features is neglected (except perhaps certain details of the firm's administrative policies), the study concerns itself primarily with the risks and difficulties that confronted the small group of Americans who brought modern metallurgical practices and technology to an underdeveloped economy and, despite numerous frustrations, employed them successfully to revive an ancient industry. Because the author has chosen to focus attention upon these aspects of the story, as well as upon the effects that the rebirth of the one-time celebrated Cyprian copper mines had upon the island's people, the study provides many useful insights into a wide range of problems, some of them applicable to companies engaged in overseas operations today. Well-known in antiquity, the mines of Cyprus once had provided Rome with its chief source of copper. Subsequently they fell into disuse and remained abandoned until early in the twentieth century, when open-pit quarrying made the processing of low-grade copper ore commercially profitable. First developed near Bingham, Utah, this new method of mining copper came to the attention of Seeley W. Mudd and Philip Wiseman, two American mining experts, who appreciated the importance of this technological discovery. When Charles G. Gunther, a well-known mining engineer and prospector, approached them to finance a world-wide search for ancient copper mines that could be operated profitably by employing the new method, Seeley and Wiseman provided the funds that led him, in January 1913, to rediscover the once famous mines of Cyprus. Employing the corporation's records, personal interviews, and other manuscript sources, Mr. Lavender has analyzed the many troublesome problems of finance, production, labor, and marketing that beset the men who founded and operated the company from 1916 through 1955. During these years, even when profits were small or international or other economic crises appeared to threaten the company's very existence, the Cyprus Mines Corporation never neglected its responsibilities toward the native population; the author's account of the numerous ways in which the company exercised these responsibilities is one of the most revealing and significant parts of this well-written history of an American business operating abroad.

*New York University*

VINCENT P. CAROSSO

#### AFRICA

THE RECORD: OR A SERIES OF OFFICIAL PAPERS RELATIVE TO THE CONDITION AND TREATMENT OF THE NATIVE TRIBES OF SOUTH AFRICA. Compiled, translated, and edited by *Donald Moodie*. (Reprint; Cape Town: A. A. Balkema. 1960. Pp. viii, 657. \$24.00.) In 1836 Sir Benjamin d'Urban, governor of the Cape Colony, found it necessary to justify for British opinion his views on the treatment of South African natives and especially on the peace terms he had imposed after the Sixth Kaffir War in 1835. He commissioned a young colonial civil servant, Donald Moodie, to

compile and translate all available official records concerning relations between colonists and aboriginal tribes. *The Record*, published in installments between 1838 and 1841, was the result. Moodie was a conscientious and careful worker, and his compilation was used as the basis for most South African historical writing before the time of Theal. While he concentrated primarily on treatment of natives, he included in his *Record* much information on general administration, economic problems, and tribal customs as they appeared to early officials. He dealt most fully with the period of Dutch administration in the seventeenth century; financial problems made it possible to publish only a few of the later sections planned, for the periods 1769-1795 and 1808-1819. *The Record* has not been in print since 1841, and complete copies of it are extremely rare. Since there is controversy even over the number of pages it contained, it is unfortunate that no reference is given to the copy used as the basis of this facsimile edition. It would also have been very helpful to have some indication as to where Moodie obtained his records and whether the documents he printed are still extant. This new edition, to which an index has been added, will nevertheless be welcomed by historians of Africa.

Goddard College

MARGARET BATES

A HISTORY OF THE SOUTHERN SUDAN, 1839-1889. By *Richard Gray*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1961. Pp. viii, 219. \$5.60.) With a sure sense of direction, the author penetrates the historical maze of tribes, traders, missionaries, humanitarians, and imperialists in the southern Sudan between 1839 and 1889. The area was first regarded as a land of potential riches, a highway into the African heartland, and an anchor of Egyptian imperial power. Expeditions probed the territory for Egypt in 1839-1841, but from 1841 to 1869 deadlock and violence marked the relations of merchants, missionaries, and men native to this distressed land. Between 1863 and 1876, Baker and Gordon led dramatic, expensive, and somewhat fruitless Egyptian expeditions into the Sudan. As Egypt's financial support declined, the slave traders rose in power, and only bare survival of Egyptian rule and representatives was possible from 1869 to 1881. The exotic Emin Pasha later attracted wide attention to Equatoria. Bankruptcy in Egypt, the rise of the Mahdi, and the sealing off of the south from outside contact brought the final collapse of Egyptian power. The era of private enterprise as a control factor ended with the rescue of Emin Pasha, and organized imperialism entered upon the scene. Because of its link with Egypt, the British aim after 1882 was to keep any other power out of the Upper Nile Valley. Thus, the southern Sudan lost its lure as a way into inner Africa and as a possible commercial foundation for the future. It declined into a back-country problem area of the twentieth century. Gray's particular contributions are his balanced view of the factors productive of trouble in the southern Sudan and playing down the role of the slave traders in the earlier decades of contact between intruders and natives. He decries the "myth" that the tragic relations between the missionaries and traders on the one hand and the southern Sudanese on the other were caused by the "rapacious Arab slave-traders." He blames this misinterpretation on the preoccupation of the humanitarians with the slave trade and the reports of Speke, Grant, and Baker who were influenced by the violent scenes they witnessed and erroneously concluded that they were caused by slave trading. Diaries, letters, and accounts of earlier European observers suggest a more complicated situation. The violence resulted primarily from the "unbridled clash between widely differing societies and cultures." The southern tribes were totally unprepared for the impact of the outside world, and the missionaries and traders were completely ignorant of the values of tribal society. The author feels that the "demand for slaves was but one of the factors which exacerbated these fundamental difficulties. . . ." He holds that "the deadlock which developed between tribesmen and intruders illustrates in microcosm the dif-

faculties of communication and understanding which still confront multiracial Africa." Thorough acquaintance with the important published sources and much unpublished material is evident. The volume is succinct, well organized, readable, even exciting, and scholarly in its treatment. The work is strongly recommended for specialist and general reader alike.

*University of Cincinnati*

GARLAND G. PARKER

BARTH'S TRAVELS IN NIGERIA: EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNAL OF HEINRICH BARTH'S TRAVELS IN NIGERIA, 1850-1855. Selected and edited, with an introduction, by *A. H. M. Kirk-Greene*. [West African History Series.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1962. Pp. 300. \$6.10.) Kirk-Greene has succeeded admirably in his intention to produce in a volume the essence of Heinrich Barth, an important but relatively neglected African explorer of the mid-nineteenth century. Not only are we given valuable biographical material that has been virtually nonexistent in English, but also a critique of Barth's reports on his explorations and an evaluation of Barth as he appeared in his times and as he figures in African studies. All this appears in an introduction of 75 pages to the 225 pages of selected materials from Barth's five-volume work *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa*, which was published simultaneously in English and German in 1857 and 1858. The selection is limited to the portions of Barth's travels in what is now northern Nigeria, but appears to be a good sampling of the various aspects of Barth's work. Kirk-Greene has done extensive research in unpublished, and sometimes well-nigh unexploited, sources, as well as all published sources to produce this volume and his preceding journal articles about Barth. Use of this selection cannot replace reading of Barth's original work; Kirk-Greene, in fact, hopes that this anthology will encourage more people to turn to Barth's records. In the meantime, a valuable aid is available to the experienced Africanist, who has not been able to include Barth's massive and scarce works in his library, and to the beginner in African studies.

*Library of Congress*

CONRAD C. REINING

ANGOLA IN FERMENT: THE BACKGROUND AND PROSPECTS OF ANGOLAN NATIONALISM. By *Thomas Okuma*. (Boston: Beacon Press. 1962. Pp. xviii, 137. \$3.50.) In the mid-twentieth century nationalism has relentlessly swept through Europe's colonial possessions in Africa. First Ghana and the Sudan, the French territories, and then the Belgian Congo and Nigeria have all experienced the rise of African nationalist groups whose determined opposition, both violent and nonviolent, to colonial rule has led inexorably to self-government and independence. Now it appears to be Angola's turn. In Angola, however, African nationalism, sparked by the granting of independence to the Congo in 1960, has collided with a more determined nationalism than that displayed by the Belgians. Portugal, proud of its long, if inept, colonial rule and convinced of its mystical role as a governing power, is determined to remain in Angola. This clash between two nationalisms, Angolan and Portuguese, has had wide repercussions in the Congo and the United Nations and has threatened to jeopardize Portugal's role in NATO. Thomas Okuma, a native of Hawaii and minister of the United Church of Christ's Congregationalists, has taught in Angola for eight years. In this excellent little book he reviews succinctly, if all too briefly, the background and mystery of Portuguese colonial policy, analyzes the disruptive forces that have nurtured Angolan nationalism, and describes the Angolan nationalist groups, European as well as African. With statistics taken from Portuguese sources, he destroys the myth of racial assimilation and ably demonstrates the wide gulf between the theory and practice of Portuguese colonial rule. The outbreak of violence and widespread disturb-



ances in Angola in 1961 is, of course, analyzed, including a discussion of the immediate causes, the tactics of Portuguese retaliation, and the Angolans' reaction to it. Okuma's predictions for the future, like those of Professor Duffy and other Western scholars, are gloomy. Unless Portuguese understanding of Africa and Angola in the twentieth century is drastically altered, Angola may yet become another Congo, or worse, another Algeria. Concise, accurate, and readable, this book will be a valuable addition to the few books in English on Angola. A ready guide to this current African and world problem, *Angola in Ferment* is excellent reading for the student and the casual reader alike and with its documentary appendixes is a handy reference to scholars of Africa.

Williams College

ROBERT O. COLLINS

#### ASIA AND THE EAST

REFORM IN SUNG CHINA: WANG AN-SHIH (1021-1086) AND HIS NEW POLICIES. By *James T. C. Liu*. [Harvard East Asian Studies, Number 3.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1959. Pp. xiv, 140, xix. \$3.50.) By a caprice of historiography Wang An-shih, one of the most controversial statesmen of China's past and a key to our understanding of its traditional political structure, is the subject of only one previous major Western study. The present volume, modest in size, renders a most valuable service in bringing to the subject new information from more recent studies of related problems and from the author's own research. Wang's innovations ranged from radical changes in the governmental structure, tax reforms, and the development of a militia system, to the expansion of public education and a basic revision of the examination system. The significance of his ideas has been obscured by confusion with those of the innovationist usurper Wang Mang a millennium before. Traditional historians condemned both, though they conceded Wang An-shih's honesty of motive and blamed him rather for shortsightedness, obstinacy, and megalomania. Modern historians, seeing him as a political symbol, have regarded him variously as a state capitalist, a liberal, a socialist, or even a Communist. Professor Liu, the author of previous political studies on the century, now approaches him anew and with greater objectivity, emphasizing his relation to the currents of his day. After a brief summary of Wang's life, the major part of this volume deals with the background of his reform concepts and his struggle to implement them: his political ideas and their relation to those of the time; the political realities of China's bureaucracy in the eleventh century; and the functional presuppositions on which the stability of the Sung government rested (some of which Wang himself ignored). One chapter presents as a case study the story of his effort to reorganize local administrative services and their fiscal basis. The author finds Wang to be a "bureaucratic idealist," whose ultimate goal was a perfect social order. His policy was, however, insufficiently realistic. Utilitarian in his outlook, he antagonized those who trusted to an emphasis on individual character rather than on regulatory systems. While some of his measures were constructive and lasting, his broader aims fell victim to unanticipated trends attending his efforts, including growing power centralization and an undesirable enforced political conformity. Liu has provided us with a broader and sounder basis for the evaluation of the reformer and his work. Since the present volume covers only a limited aspect of the reforms, we must still turn for many details to the older but more comprehensive work of H. R. Williamson. Any Western reader who wants to understand the significance of Wang, however, should now begin his explorations with this book.

University of Chicago

E. A. KRACKE, JR.

POLITICS, PERSONALITY, AND NATION BUILDING: BURMA'S SEARCH FOR IDENTITY. By *Lucian W. Pye*. [A Study from the Center for International



Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1962. Pp. xx, 307. \$7.50.) Lucian Pye's purpose in writing this book was not to present a full-length study of Burma, but to draw upon some aspects of that country and the history that has shaped its people as a sample of the complexities that attend a non-Western transitional society in its efforts to create an effective modern state system. It might be remarked in passing that the author appears to equate the latter phrase with "nation-building," a term which he uses more frequently, although there is surely a useful distinction to be preserved between the two. To the specific problems involved in building a nation he devotes little attention. Pye concentrates on three principal levels of analysis. The first, occupying the first three chapters of the book with virtually no mention of Burma, concerns the broader issues of methodology, model building, and a number of valuable general propositions concerning the politics of transitional societies. The second examines the political culture of Burma in its historical setting, while the third, based largely on a series of interviews with leading figures in the country, comes down to the level of individuals, exploring their search for identity in a confused and confusing world. The difficulties confronting all those who must work their way through the transition from a traditional society to one that can take its equal place in the modern world are here admirably portrayed, and the author properly emphasizes how little theoretical or applied knowledge exists "to provide the basis of strategies for nation building." The ambivalences of the colonial heritage, surviving to plague the independent state, are well brought out. Considerable, and perhaps even undue, stress is laid upon the suspicion and hostility existing between the administrator and the politician, in very large part deriving from the different roles and experiences of the two in the colonial situation. It is, however, a comment of more dubious value that the West has concentrated on training administrators and soldiers and has left the training of politicians to chance. It might be argued that the politicians have in general undergone much the same kind of training as their counterparts in the West, be it good, bad, or indifferent, and the question may surely be asked as to whether we know how to train politicians, particularly to lead the peoples of distant and alien societies. For my taste Pye has indulged in too much psychologizing about Burma and the Burmese national character, but this the author himself no doubt regards as his major contribution. If a single illustration may be given, much is made of the thesis that Burmese mothers, after the first fine rapture of motherhood is over, "vacillate between extremes of warmth and affection and of disinterest and exasperation." From this assumed fact, grave consequences are drawn for the social and political behavior of the Burmese. One is tempted to ask both how widespread such vacillations are among Burmese mothers and whether they are significantly different from other mothers throughout the world who certainly also have their fluctuations of affection and exasperation. And assuming the universality of the pattern in Burma, do all children respond to it in the same fashion and bear throughout life similar imprints which shape their political attitudes and actions? The swaddling clothes seem to be back in a new guise.

Harvard University

RUPERT EMERSON

AMERICANS IN SUMATRA. By *James W. Gould*. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1961. Pp. vii, 185. Glds. 14.25.) Sumatra is an island with an area larger than Italy, strategically located athwart the shortest sea route between the Orient and Occident, and rich in natural resources. The author, at one time an American consular official in Sumatra, ties his own interest in the island to the thesis that historically Americans have been more interested in such distant places than has been commonly believed. To test this thesis he examines the economic relationships between Sumatra and the United

States, the role of American enterprise in developing Indonesian oil and rubber, and American contributions to native education and the world's knowledge of Sumatran political, social, and natural history. He documents the economic side of this picture, especially as it relates to oil and rubber, in convincing detail, though the use of non-constant dollar measures of value is somewhat disconcerting. The chapters on education and cultural relations, with heavy emphasis on names, places, and dates, are less satisfactory. The author certainly shows that Americans have had a multifaceted and long-standing interest in Sumatra. In this restricted sense his very generalized thesis is proved. The book is most valuable, however, as a compendium of information about Sumatra and as a limited case history of American overseas trade and investment. The bibliography of American writings on Sumatra should prove helpful to anyone interested in this subject.

*Harvard University*

ARTHUR M. JOHNSON

**THE NIEN ARMY AND THEIR GUERRILLA WARFARE, 1851-1868.** By S. Y. Teng. [École Pratique des Hautes Études—Sorbonne. VI<sup>e</sup> Section: Sciences économiques et sociales. Le monde d'outre-mer passé et présent, 1st Series. Études, Volume XIII.] (Paris: Mouton & Co. 1961. Pp. 254.) Professor Teng's work is a full treatment, based on recently published source material and secondary studies, of one of the major rebellions that threatened the Ch'ing dynasty in the middle of the nineteenth century. The author traces the origins of the Nien in secret society activities at the beginning of the century and explains the development of Nien organization and leadership in a favorable milieu, the Huai River Valley, during a period of governmental deterioration. Relations with Taiping and Moslem rebels and with local groups and secret societies are explored. This is followed by a systematic account of the Nien rebellion and its final and painful suppression. Teng describes in detail the weapons and particularly the remarkable guerrilla tactics of the Nien which have attracted the notice of both Chinese Communists and Nationalists. After an assessment of Ch'ing failure to suppress the Nien sooner and of Nien failure to persist, Teng fits the Nien into the general pattern of Manchu decline and growing strength of local Chinese military independence that produced the war lord of the twentieth century. A comprehensive survey of the literature to date in Chinese, Japanese, and Western languages on a movement until recently neglected, the book brings out the essential nature of the Nien Fei. Their leaders were inferior, they lacked the ideology and clear objectives of the Taipings, and they were content with loot and rebellion; yet the Nien prospered because the imperial forces were so weak and inefficient. Also, their talent for quick movement and guerrilla tactics was outstanding. Teng describes the process by which after earlier failures Tseng Kuo-fan slowly and finally evolved a policy implemented by Li Hung-chang and the Huai army of establishing bases, organizing the countryside, and using fortified dikes that proved after 1863 the undoing of the rebels. He estimates the numbers involved at 50,000 for the Nien and 180,000 for the government. Teng's contention that suppression of the Nien hastened the dilution and dissipation of Manchu authority seems well reasoned. His all-inclusive treatment of his subject will be helpful to teacher and researcher alike.

*University of Wisconsin*

EUGENE BOARDMAN

**LATE CH'ING FINANCE: HU KUANG-YUNG AS AN INNOVATOR.** By C. John Stanley. [Chinese Economic and Political Studies, Special Series.] (Cambridge, Mass.: East Asian Research Center, Harvard University; distrib. by Harvard University Press. 1961. Pp. v, 117. \$2.50.) This brief but revealing book deals with the career of perhaps the most outstanding Chinese banker of the late nineteenth century. Hu

Kuang-yung was a transitional figure whose comparatively freewheeling operations represented a departure from the limited objectives and circumscribed activities of earlier Chinese merchants. Unlike his predecessors, Hu also remained an active banker instead of retiring in order to embrace the noncommercial life of the landed gentry. By illuminating the transformation of Chinese banking under the impact of the West, this book demonstrates that more studies of individual entrepreneurs are needed before it will be possible to form general conclusions about the process of economic change in modern China.

*Duke University*

DONALD G. GILLIN

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, 1892-1909. By *Pansy Chaya Ghosh*. (Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay. 1960. Pp. 263.) Miss Ghosh considers the development of the Indian National Congress from 1892 to 1909 to be one of the most important and eventful periods in Indian history. She argues that in the years between the Indian Councils Act and the Morley-Minto reforms the Congress faced problems and events which subsequently formed the "very core" of its existence. These events are narrated here in a discussion weighted heavily to a consideration of Curzon's 1905 partition of Bengal and the postpartition problems of *swadeshi* and boycott, the Moslem split, the Surat Congress, the role of the extremists, and finally the Morley-Minto reforms. The merit of this volume lies in these thoroughly researched chapters, which are informative descriptions of Congress development, confirming in detail what we already know of this phase of Congress history. The nature of the Congress prior to this crisis period is treated briefly in chapters covering economic problems and resolutions from 1892 to 1903 and giving the background to the division of the moderates and extremists in the differences between Tilak and the reformers in the 1890's. An introductory chapter is intended to explain the constitution, organization, and composition of the Congress and the formation of its adjuncts in England. It is unfortunate that Professor Ghosh should have committed herself to describing the whole of her period as one of "storm and unrest," thereby conveying the mistaken, though perhaps unintended, impression that the Congress, then more a movement than an organization or a party, was a growing political force in the country, culminating in the events of 1905 and after. Actually, in the decade before 1905 the Congress was suffering both from inactivity and falling popularity, a fact widely recognized in India and commented on in England as late as 1903. At one point in her discussion the author quotes from Wedderburn and Hume on the apathetic condition of the Congress, yet in her introduction she appears to credit Congress with a vigor that it did not have. The movement was weak and declining, and only the official policies of 1905, adopted in spite of the Congress, created the "storm and unrest" that Miss Ghosh ascribes to Indian political affairs after 1892. This volume contains three excellent charts showing religious and caste groupings among Congress delegates, professional, social, and occupational groups, and numbers of delegates from different provinces attending annual sessions. There are thirty-seven brief biographies in an appendix, and the book has an exhaustive bibliography of official and unofficial sources.

*University of Virginia*

WALTER HAUSER

SOME ASPECTS OF INDONESIAN POLITICS UNDER THE JAPANESE OCCUPATION: 1944-1945. By *Benedict R. O'G. Anderson*. [Interim Reports Series, Modern Indonesia Project, Southeast Asia Program, Department of Far Eastern Studies, Cornell University.] (Ithaca, N. Y.: the Project. 1961. Pp. ix, 126. \$3.00.) After two introductory chapters this becomes a close-up day-by-day, and sometimes hour-by-hour, study of the transfer of authority from Japanese to Indonesian hands in Java in the

summer of 1945. It is a fascinating, if somewhat muddled, story that is told, the essence being that some of the Japanese in Java, but not all, wanted to turn over authority to an independent Indonesian government before the Allies could come in, and some of the Indonesian leaders, but not all, wanted to accept Japanese assistance in the turnover. We find evidence of sympathy and understanding between Japanese and Indonesians, amidst various suspicions. The older nationalist leaders, Sukarno and Hatta, were offered assistance, which they did not reject, by Japanese Admiral Maeda and a "navy group." But this "cooperation" was almost upset by Japanese army opposition to Maeda and the pressure exerted by Indonesian youth leaders on Sukarno. The author has not unraveled all the threads in this "interim report," but he has used sometimes contradictory testimony with care to bring these critical months in Indonesian history into sharper focus, adding important details to the broader studies of Willard H. Elsabee, *Japan's Role in Southeast Asian Nationalist Movements, 1940-1945* (1953), and Harry J. Benda, *The Crescent and the Rising Sun* (1958).

University of Pennsylvania

HILARY CONROY

THE LAST DAYS OF THE BRITISH RAJ. By *Leonard Mosley*. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World. 1962. Pp. 263. \$4.95.) Mosley traces the intricate sequence of developments in India from the abortive Cabinet Mission Plan of 1946 to the decision for the partition of British India, its implementation in 1947, and the ghastly communal violence that accompanied partition. The author, drama and film critic for the London *Daily Express* since 1946, has drawn upon hitherto unpublished materials from Government of India Records, some of which he quotes at length, and on personal interviews with many of the participants in the top-level negotiations which culminated in partition. He depicts these negotiations in the vivid narrative style of the skilled journalist and makes much of the blunders of specific individuals, both British and Indian, in contributing to the bloodshed and bitterness between Hindus, Moslems, and Sikhs, which marred the achievement of Indian and Pakistani independence. Many of his judgments will prove controversial, but there is a more serious criticism to be made of the book. The author's forte is the portrayal of personalities as actors in a drama. He makes little attempt to analyze the all-important background against which the action takes place. Congress and the Moslem League cannot be understood solely in terms of their leading personalities. The Cripps proposals of 1942, with their covert acceptance of the partition principle, are not even mentioned. It is nonsense to say that "one of the main objectives" of Labour party policy had "always" been "to prise the Indian jewel from the British crown and hand it back to the Indians." There is no analysis of the factors affecting the determination of British policy between 1945 and 1947, nor indeed of earlier policy which helped shape the postwar situation. In short, this book is a prime illustration of the difference between good journalism and good history.

Baldwin-Wallace College

MARTIN DEMING LEWIS

#### AMERICAS

RESEARCH OPPORTUNITIES IN AMERICAN CULTURAL HISTORY. Edited by *John Francis McDermott*. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press. 1961. Pp. viii, 205. \$6.00.) In 1959 Washington University in St. Louis invited twelve distinguished scholars to a round table to discuss opportunities for research in American cultural history. No attempt was made to define "culture"; each participant simply discussed possibilities in the area of his specialty. The papers are gathered here with a brief introduction by John Francis McDermott. The chapter titles indicate the range of the authors' interests: "The Colonial Period Reexamined," "The French in the Mississippi

Valley," "Indian Relations in the United States," "Travel Literature," "The Saga of the Immigrant," "The Scientist on the Frontier," "Folklore and Cultural History," "Midwestern Regional Literature," "The Booktrade and Publishing History," "Popular Education and Cultural Agencies," "The Visual Arts and Cultural History," and "Tastes in Recreation." Many of these scholars are working in midwestern materials, hence giving a regional flavor to some papers. Yet the scope of the volume is basically national. A few contributions, such as Howard H. Peckham's perceptive piece on the Indians and Lester J. Cappon's excellent assessment of the colonial period, are historiographic essays as well as suggestions for further investigation; most, however, are essentially lists of neglected areas of America's social and cultural experience. No one will be surprised to know that much remains to be done in these fields. Just how much, though, is a little staggering. Each author has dozens of projects that all need doing; all allude to manuscript collections that are still untouched; and some suggest inquiries that no historian has yet attempted. Indeed, Theodore C. Blegen argues that a new journal is necessary to handle the present work on immigration as well as to stimulate future interest both here and abroad. David Kasar is persuasive in his appeal for systematic studies of publishing houses in their economic aspects as well as their impact on the organization of learning. E. P. Richardson points out that of the 643 painters mentioned in his *Painting in America: The Story of 450 Years* less than 10 per cent have had any reasonable attention. And Richard M. Dorson contrasts the state of American and European scholarship in folklore to demonstrate the immense possibilities awaiting the diligent and imaginative student in that area. There is much to be done, then. But is not the really important problem one of priority? What is needed most? What ought to be done next? The essays do not deal with these questions. It is true, as one contributor points out, that "croquet, volleyball and archery offer possibilities in relatively unworked fields," yet studies of this kind are surely well down the lists of required monographs. It would have been useful if each scholar had appended a list of the ten most wanted volumes in his field as a clearer guide to new students. Nevertheless, these papers are rich with suggestions, indicating again that the more we know, the more we have to know.

University of Chicago

RICHARD C. WADE

EDUCATION IN THE FORMING OF AMERICAN SOCIETY: NEEDS AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR STUDY. By *Bernard Bailyn*. [Needs and Opportunities for Study Series.] (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture. 1960. Pp. xvi, 147. \$3.50.) By putting on a new thinking cap, Professor Bailyn has managed to produce a refreshingly original interpretation of American education in the colonial period. He argues convincingly that the history of American education went wrong when, early in the twentieth century, "passionate crusaders for professionalism in education" fixed its course as the study of the evolution of the public school. Writing from the narrow viewpoint that only formal schooling is education, teachers' college historians isolated the school from other social institutions. As a consequence, the history of American education has suffered not from neglect but from distortion. We need to redefine education, Bailyn says, "as the entire process by which a culture transmits itself across the generations." Instead of hunting for the present in the past, as professional educators have done in their researches in educational history, the author seeks to understand the past. In "an essay in hypothetical history," he shows the first settlers' medieval heritage, in which education was an informal process and mainly a function of the family, the community, and the church. But the American wilderness rapidly broke down those traditional in-



stitutions, and formal schools took over much of the burden of socializing the child. At the same time, the school in its new role, and other innovative educational institutions, began to influence inherited patterns of culture, to heighten the sense of individuality and opportunity, to become an agency of social change and a means of shaping the American character. By the end of the colonial period education had ceased to be an automatic process of society; it "had become controversial, conscious, constructed: a matter of decision, will, and effort." The second half of the book is a bibliographical essay that takes its form from the preceding interpretation of the transit of culture from England to America and its transmission during two centuries of colonial life. Bailyn describes and assesses the writings that illuminate (or obscure) the role of education in the forming of American society. He does not attempt to impose a pattern for other historians to copy, but he reveals many critical needs and challenging opportunities for further study. This well-organized, clearly written book deserves careful attention from students of American cultural history. It will be a book of major importance if it succeeds in removing the blinders that have long kept historians of education from seeing their subject as a whole.

National Science Foundation

J. MERTON ENGLAND

AMERICAN PROTESTANTISM. By *Winthrop S. Hudson*. [The Chicago History of American Civilization.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1961. Pp. vii, 198. \$3.95.) This volume in the Chicago History of American Civilization complements the earlier *American Catholicism* by John Tracy Ellis and *American Judaism* by Nathan Glazer. The "shaping" that took place during the colonial era, the first part of the book, was notably in the direction of toleration and hence of religious freedom. Originally because of diversity but principally for theological reasons, because of human depravity, the church (as well as the state) must be limited in power and must be free. These beliefs became "the common conviction of most American Protestants" by the end of the colonial period. The author shows that the majority of American churches stood near or within the Calvinistic tradition—not only Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and Baptists but to an effective extent Anglicans and Quakers as well, a total of perhaps 85 per cent of all Protestant congregations at the time of the Revolution. His interpretation of denominationalism, understood in this period to be an ecumenical principle, is illuminating. The second part, portraying vividly the sweep of Protestantism across the continent upon but at times almost ahead of the waves of westward migration, impressed me as the best part of the book. The organization of free denominations and their unique individual characteristics, their varying adaptations to the conditions and demands of the West, the methods used in evangelization, and the features of revivalism pass rapidly and readably in review. The reshuffling of the denominations in the nineteenth-century shifts of population and social order are again well told, ending with a bright description of the halcyon years of Protestant America at the turn of the century. The recent part is less successful. The vast complexity of the past half century and our involvement in it render the task of such an essay almost impossible. The author chooses to treat (with overemphasis) the "new theology" of the 1880's and 1890's here rather than in context, oversimplifying the causes of Protestantism's relative decline in importance if not in numbers in the present era. His conclusions seem unduly pessimistic. As a whole, the book is an excellent survey. It omits few important figures (Mott, Rauschenbusch) or movements (anti-Catholicism, social gospel) and is marred by only one or two errors of fact or inference.

Westminster Choir College

C. HOWARD HOPKINS

THE ROAD TO RENO: A HISTORY OF DIVORCE IN THE UNITED STATES.  
By *Nelson Manfred Blake*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1962. Pp. viii, 269. \$5.00.)



*The Road to Reno* is better described as a history of American divorce laws than as a history of divorce in the United States. This observation is intended, not as disparagement, but as notice that the author treats divorce as a legal problem rather than as a social institution. The book is an informative and intentionally disturbing account of the factors that have shaped and reshaped American divorce laws from the colonial period to the present. Professor Blake began the study by seeking to discover why the cosmopolitan, enlightened state of New York retains an antiquated and notoriously hypocritical divorce law. Answering this question led him into the larger task of tracing the development of divorce proceedings and legislation in all the states. The work is the first general history of the subject in more than fifty years. It should be of particular value to students interested in exploring areas of American life in which theory and practice are out of joint. In a vigorously written and well-organized narrative Blake discusses European and colonial precedents, gradual liberalization of divorce laws, and efforts to secure uniformity in state legislation. He examines the growth and abandonment of legislative divorce, the influence of woman's rights and other reform movements on attitudes toward divorce, the rise of divorce colonies, and the human and technical problems of migratory divorce. He pays particular attention to the causes and consequences of New York's refusal to bring its divorce laws into conformity with those of other states. Laws governing divorce in the United States are imperfect unions of legal tradition and social accommodation. At present, in spite of mavericks like New York and Nevada, the tendency is toward rough uniformity. Most states impose a one-year residence requirement and recognize adultery, desertion, cruelty, felony conviction, and alcoholism as grounds for divorce. Social scientists have often pointed out discrepancies between American theory and practice. In this book Blake demonstrates the usefulness of history in explaining how such conflicts arise and how they are resolved or perpetuated.

*Ohio State University*

ROBERT H. BREMNER

THE DEVIL'S BACKBONE: THE STORY OF THE NATCHEZ TRACE. By Jonathan Daniels. [American Trails Series.] (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1962. Pp. 278. \$6.95.) This is the second book McGraw-Hill Company has published in its projected ten-book American Trails Series. The first was Stewart Holbrook's *The Old Post Road: The Story of the Boston Post Road*. Now Jonathan Daniels, newspaper editor, historian, and public servant, brings us *The Devil's Backbone: The Story of the Natchez Trace*. It is a delightful piece of historical literature, surveying the story of the Trace from the time De Soto crossed it in 1541 until Mississippi's Senator Pat Harrison coerced the Roosevelt administration into establishing and beginning construction, in 1934-1935, of the Natchez Trace Parkway from Nashville to Natchez. To Daniels the Trace is a stage upon which he plays for us the American frontier drama. "Doomed men and men of destiny" moved along it "not merely geographical[ly] along a north-south trail" but "also chronological[ly] through a history which included Indian resistance, French speculation in settlement, Spanish domination, and finally American expansion." His drama is a "dark and bloody" one, filled with robbers, cutthroats, harlots, drunkards, gamblers, sturdy pioneers, cotton snobs, ladies of fashion, and men of destiny. Andrew and Rachel Jackson make amorous passages across his stage, and Meriwether Lewis was murdered or committed suicide upon it (Daniels leans toward the murder theory). "Crazy" Lorenzo Dow, camp meeting preacher, passes along the Trace exhorting sinners with a gospel filled with hate and evil and threats of torture. Daniels uses no footnotes, but his list of "Sources and Acknowledgments" indicates that he has searched broadly and deeply. His organization and writing demonstrate also that he has mastered his subject thoroughly. One

puts the book down with a keen appreciation of the fact that Daniels has given to the Natchez Trace a touch of humanity by telling its story in terms of the people who gave it significance. It is gratifying to know that the Natchez Trace Parkway is to be a monument to the splendid set of heroes and villains who passed that way.

University of Arkansas

WALTER L. BROWN

THE PROVINCE OF EAST NEW JERSEY, 1609-1702: THE REBELLIOUS PROPRIETARY. By John E. Pomfret. [The Princeton History of New Jersey Series.] (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1962. Pp. x, 407. \$10.00.) This companion volume to Dr. Pomfret's *The Province of West New Jersey, 1609-1702*, is the first comprehensive history of East New Jersey since William A. Whitehead's *East Jersey under the Proprietary Governments*, first published in 1846 and revised in 1875. In writing *The Province of East New Jersey* Pomfret drew heavily on Whitehead's pioneering work, Edwin P. Tanner's *Province of New Jersey, 1664-1738*, Nelson Burr's *The Anglican Church in New Jersey*, published archival materials, and other books and articles. The result is a more complete account than Whitehead's and Tanner's. Its value lies in its bringing together into one volume much of the existing scholarship in the field. Pomfret is one of those historians who has a talent for the accumulation of facts rather than for interpretive generalization. Such interpretation as appears in this volume is found in the foreword. Whereas West Jersey was a peaceful Quaker community, East Jersey, with its combination of varying ethnic and religious elements, was a rebellious colony. The reasons for its rebelliousness were the failure of the Berkeley-Carteret proprietorship to recognize land titles granted before the arrival of Governor Carteret, the insistence of the proprietors upon collecting the always unpopular quitrents, and the fact that, like other proprietary colonies created by Charles II, its charter was in constant peril. East Jersey developed slowly as a colony because uncertainties regarding the validity of the proprietary charter and free trade discouraged the immigration of settlers and venture capital. The colony nevertheless progressed, even though the proprietary charter was apparently doomed from the outset. Finally the East Jersey colonists accepted union with West Jersey under royal government as the lesser of evils. Although most of the book is devoted to political events, there is much information about the ethnic, economic, and religious characteristics of the colony. The absence of aesthetic achievement is mentioned, but it is unfortunate that Pomfret neglected the development of education in the colony—a subject which Nelson Burr barely touched upon in his *Education in New Jersey, 1630-1871*. *The Province of East New Jersey* is published in a handsome format, and a map of the two Jerseys in the front of the book is useful. The narrative, however, proceeds slowly and is marred by lengthy, detailed descriptions of the acts of the East New Jersey Assembly. A complete, annotated bibliography would have added to the value of the book.

Arlington State College, Texas

ROY N. LOKKEN

NAVIES IN THE MOUNTAINS: THE BATTLES ON THE WATERS OF LAKE CHAMPLAIN AND LAKE GEORGE, 1609-1814. By Harrison Bird. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1962. Pp. 361. \$6.50.) Lake Champlain and Lake George were two of the most strategic spots in all of North America during the years 1609 to 1814. The battles waged by landlocked navies on these lakes often determined the destiny of the continent. For these key waterways were located astride the classic corridor from which one could attack north into Canada or drive south into New York. This book tells the story of the nations (France, England, and the United States), the

men (Champlain, Rogers, Loring, Carleton, Downie, Arnold, and Macdonough), and the craft (canoes, whaleboats, *radeaux*, row galleys, gondolas, and one full-rigged ship) that fought on these waters over a period of two centuries. Students of naval history will note three episodes in particular described in detail: the whaleboat escapades of Rogers' Rangers, Benedict Arnold's fight off Valcour Island in 1776, and the Battle of Lake Champlain in 1814. Trained historians, however, will not find this popularly written work of much significance. The book does not alter materially the generally accepted views of these naval battles; it contains no footnotes; the bibliography includes certain unreliable primary and secondary sources; and no use is made of such recent studies as the biographies of Benedict Arnold.

*Clark University*

GEORGE A. BILLIAS

THE MIDDLE WEST: A STUDY OF PROGRESS. By *Sidney Glazer*. (New York: Bookman Associates. 1962. Pp. 135. \$3.50.) This volume constitutes a brief historical survey of the political, economic, and social conditions that contributed to the phenomenal growth of the Middle West, here defined as the region encompassing the states of the Old Northwest and Iowa, Minnesota, Kansas, Nebraska, and the two Dakotas. It covers the whole chronological time span of the region and fits the story into the pattern of national history. Questions raised by students in the author's classes in the history of the Middle West have guided him in part in organizing his material. Designed for the layman and students in specialized courses in American history and American literature, the volume will provide them with an over-all view of the region from which they can proceed to more detailed study. They will find it clearly written and well balanced as a whole. At the close the author lists ten books as reading aids. Given the purpose and scope of the book, however, its usefulness would have been enhanced by fuller and more detailed suggestions for additional reading.

*University of Missouri*

LEWIS ATHERTON

WILLIAM SHIRLEY: KING'S GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS. By *John A. Schutz*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture. 1961. Pp. vii, 292. \$6.00.) Among the royal governors of Massachusetts Bay, probably none enjoyed as much popularity during at least parts of their service as did William Shirley and his successor Thomas Pownall. Professor Schutz published a readable and useful study of Pownall in 1951 and has now followed it with a political biography of the older man. He is not treading entirely new ground, for about forty years ago George Arthur Wood published the first part of a projected two-volume biography of Shirley, but he did not live to complete the work. A new study has been much needed. Schutz has written a book which for the most part should amply fill this need. It is relatively short and consequently goes into much less detail on some topics than a few specialized readers might like. But it is based not only on the same sources that Wood used but upon much additional material. Like most biographies, it is generally favorable to its subject in its treatment of controversial matters, yet it is written with a conscious effort to present both sides. The personal aspects of the governor's life are seldom stressed; this is predominantly what the author calls "an analysis of Shirley's career as an Anglo-American politician." The accounts of such major episodes as the Louisbourg expedition of 1745, the press gang disturbances of 1747, and Shirley's service as commander in chief after the death of Braddock in 1755 are well presented and make interesting reading. Yet it is as a study of the complicated politics of Massachusetts Bay and of Shirley's handling of the factions and the shifting alliances among officials and merchant groups anxious to profit from government business that the book makes its most important contribution. "As a career ad-

ministrator," Schutz writes in summary, "Shirley conceived of the problems of government primarily in terms of the manipulation of patronage; indeed his success as a colonial executive was grounded in his astute distribution of political rewards and favors." By disentangling these highly entangling alliances, which stretched beyond the boundaries of a single colony and even reached across the ocean to England, and by discussing the impact of these alliances on public affairs over a broad area, the author has done substantially more than merely to write a new biography of a man. He has, in fact, offered help to an understanding of problems of general importance for American colonial history during a complicated and critical period.

*Yale University*

LEONARD W. LABAREE

JEAN-BERNARD BOSSU'S TRAVELS IN THE INTERIOR OF NORTH AMERICA, 1751-1762. Translated and edited by *Seymour Feiler*. [The American Exploration and Travel Series, Number 35.] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1962. Pp. xvii, 243. \$4.50.) Jean-Bernard Bossu's letters describing his early travels in the lower Mississippi Valley were first published in French and later translated by John Reinhold Forster for a London edition of 1771. Seymour Feiler has given us a new translation of Bossu's letters covering the period of two visits to Louisiana (1751-1757 and 1757-1762). Another series of letters describing Bossu's third visit to the New World was published in French in 1777, but this work is not included in the present edition. Bossu, a naval officer, was indeed a careful observer, as Feiler points out in his introduction. The letters are descriptive of Indian life of many of the lower Mississippi tribes with comments on Indian marriage customs and methods of child rearing. There are additional observations on vegetation, animals, crops, and relations between the Indians and whites. Bossu takes pains to orient his readers on the history of the period and has, for example, a description of La Salle's expedition. It is worthy of note that in the 1750's Bossu had already detected that Father Hennepin's journals were untrustworthy. A comparison of Bossu's account with other descriptions of the southern Indians, as for instance with the writings of James Adair and Edmund Atkin, his English contemporaries, reveals that Bossu attempted to give his readers an accurate portrait. This is a first-rate book.

*University of California, Santa Barbara*

WILBUR R. JACOBS

BENJAMIN LOGAN: KENTUCKY FRONTIERSMAN. By *Charles Gano Talbert*. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press. 1962. Pp. ix, 332. \$7.50.) History commonly plays favorites, sometimes with a purpose, sometimes just by chance. It is probably by chance that Daniel Boone is the best-known of all the pioneers of the Old Southwest, but there were many who contributed more than he did to the settlement of Kentucky, with Benjamin Logan among the foremost of these. He was also more typical of those who led the way to this region. His father, David, from the north of Ireland, migrated to Pennsylvania and then moved down into the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia. Here his son Benjamin was born in the early 1740's. By dint of painstaking research, Professor Talbert has etched the portrait of this Kentucky pioneer in sharp strokes and delightful detail.

*University of Virginia*

THOMAS P. ABERNETHY

JOSHUA COIT: AMERICAN FEDERALIST, 1758-1798. By *Chester McArthur Destler*. (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press. 1962. Pp. xiii, 191. \$5.75.) In a thoroughly competent manner Destler has chronicled the biography of a man whose life was neither exciting nor historically momentous and whose career, impressive but not extraordinary, was cut short by death at the age of forty. What makes this brief

story worth telling is primarily the fact that Joshua Coit was a moderate Federalist in a state where ultra-Federalism prevailed. Perhaps it was because he had attended Harvard rather than Yale and Litchfield Law School that he did not fit easily into the mold of the Connecticut "Standing Order." He had other suitable qualifications: son of a prominent New London merchant, college graduate, practitioner before the bar, supporter of Congregationalism in New London's First Church, and representative in the Connecticut lower house from 1784, with frequent though not repeated reelection. Perhaps it was because he could not forget the British raid on New London in 1781 which left much of the town, and his father's property, in burned ruins. In any event, when Coit took his seat in the Third Congress, he did not bring with him the same rigid Federalism that characterized most of the Connecticut delegation and such Connecticut sons as Oliver Wolcott, Jr., who replaced Hamilton as Secretary of the Treasury. At times Coit was, in fact, embarrassed by favorable notice from the Republican press—notice that could spell disaster in Federalist Connecticut. Coit never subscribed to the idea of contingent secession which found favor among many of the ultra-Federalists. He joined Republicans in opposing President Adams' proposals for large naval expenditures, and his views in opposition to a permanent naval establishment were closer to the Republicans than to orthodox New England Federalists. Coit supported the Alien and Sedition Acts, but his earlier independence left ultra-Federalist Connecticut leaders unreconciled. The loss of his seat in Congress was imminent when Coit fell victim to yellow fever in the late summer of 1798. The paucity of material on Coit—not even a sketch in the *Dictionary of American Biography*—enhances the value of this contribution.

*University of Richmond*

NOBLE E. CUNNINGHAM, JR.

JOSEPH WARREN: PHYSICIAN, POLITICIAN, PATRIOT. By *John Cary*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1961. Pp. ix, 260. \$5.00.) Reputations of historical figures have a way of rising and falling not only in the popular but in the scholarly mind, a barometer that baffles and frustrates the serious historian who attempts to divorce himself from the popular and too often illusory intellectual currents of his own time. In this case, the author reasserts the importance of Joseph Warren, noting that he enjoyed a reputation equal to that of Sam Adams during the first half of the nineteenth century but that in the past century he has been reduced to a cliché, the brief but heroic hour on Breed's Hill when as a volunteer he was killed in rallying patriots for a final defense against the onrushing redcoats. John Cary has written an informing book, using intelligently the best available resources and retaining a firm grasp on recent scholarship. The pertinent, often limited, primary sources are creatively utilized, with the result that many details of the Warren family background are clarified, and a number of misconceptions about Warren's medical training and experience are corrected. More significant, Warren's role in the decisions made in Massachusetts politics between 1765 and 1776 is amplified and documented, together with a description of the doctor's popularity and exceptional competence. In examining the forces in operation during the Stamp Act crisis, Cary takes particular notice of the impact of the financial failure in 1765 of Nathaniel Wheelwright, the Boston merchant, an event that contemporaries compared to the collapse of the South Sea Bubble. He analyzes in detail the structure of parties within Massachusetts and the role of Warren as a leader in the "radical" camp, including an evaluation of the effect of Warren's writings and speeches on public opinion. Occasionally Cary's description of the party structure suffers from simplification, and the presentation from repetition, but the discussion is thorough, the dimensions of the issues are clearly presented, and the progression of events leading to the Suffolk Resolves and the culminating conflict of 1775 is related

with scholarly exactness and appreciation worthy of the subject. This book contributes to a scholar's understanding of a critical epoch in American history.

*Northwestern University*

CLARENCE L. VER STEEG

IN THE MIDST OF A REVOLUTION. By *David Hawke*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1961. Pp. 235. \$5.00.) Dr. Hawke's well-written, fully documented, and highly informative book gives the reader a clear view of an event that made a declaration of independence a reality for the colonies in 1776. His story was written from original sources: private letters, memoirs, newspapers, official registers, and remonstrances. Pennsylvania underwent a revolution in government in 1776 which destroyed the assembly, a legacy from William Penn's day, and established a convention which wrote a democratic constitution. These revolutionary processes were conceived by Sam and John Adams and executed by James Cannon, Christopher Marshall, Thomas Paine, Benjamin Rush, Timothy Matlack, Benjamin Harbison, and Thomas Young. Although some of these men are well known in history, in 1776 all of them belonged to the common men's group. They became intermediaries between the aristocrats, such as the Adamses, who wanted independence and the common men who wanted status and a feeling of importance. The assembly won the right to continue its pro-British policy in the May elections, but the common man refused to acknowledge that right. Consequently, the assembly was forced to admit its views on reconciliation with England would no longer be permitted, was unable to exercise legal authority because of clever interpretations of laws by the opposition, and was compelled to adjourn without much notice of its going. Hawke discovered new material to prove that the common man in America was largely responsible for the American Revolution. This group needed guidance in order to express its views. The aristocrats realized their aims could not be achieved without the help of the common man. Once the common man sensed power through the exercise of suffrage, he became an easy prey for the astute politician who directed his political activities. This is a noteworthy book. It is essential reading for students of the American Revolution.

*University of Kentucky*

RHEA A. TAYLOR

THE UNITED STATES SENATE, 1787-1801: A DISSERTATION ON THE FIRST FOURTEEN YEARS OF THE UPPER LEGISLATIVE BODY. By *Roy Swanstrom*. [Senate Document Number 64, 87th Congress, 1st Session.] (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. 1962. Pp. vi, 325.) This excellent book is a portrait of the United States Senate in its youth. In a modern age marked by the decay of second chambers and a trend toward unicameralism in the constitutions of the postwar world, this study seeks to find an answer, in the history of the Senate's early years, to its survival today as "the most powerful upper legislative body in the world." Professor Swanstrom has succeeded admirably in achieving his purpose. Every aspect of the experience of the Senate during its formative years is intensively covered in seventeen lively and readable chapters. The colonial and state precedents, planning the Senate in the Constitutional Convention, its role in the ratification campaign, the first Senate elections, the background and caliber of the early members, the gradual retreat from its aristocratic pretensions, the Senate's relations with the House of Representatives and the President, its part in the famous controversy over the Jay Treaty, its procedure, committee system, and leadership in early years are all fully described in this well-organized, thoroughly researched, and richly documented book. A chapter on "The Peripatetic Congress" gives a most interesting description of social life and living conditions in New York, Philadelphia, and Washington during the period 1789-1801. Concluding chapters furnish an absorbing discussion of the Senate



as the "focus of Federalism" in the 1790's and an account of the decline and fall of Senate Federalism at the end of the period. An appendix includes the text of the twenty rules adopted by the first Senate and an eight-page bibliography of sources used. Although several other books give good brief accounts of the principal developments in the Senate's early days, Swanstrom's study is the most complete and exhaustive description of the Senate during its first fourteen years that has yet appeared. Accurate and authentic, it makes a valuable and lasting contribution to the literature on Congress.

*Library of Congress*

GEORGE B. GALLOWAY

THE WESTERN JOURNALS OF JOHN MAY, OHIO COMPANY AGENT AND BUSINESS ADVENTURER. Edited and with an introduction by *Dwight L. Smith*. (Cincinnati: Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio. 1961. Pp. xii, 176. \$5.50.) This volume represents remarkable historical detective work and a fine bit of historical editing. These accomplishments are enhanced by the importance of the journals themselves which stand among the most significant contemporary accounts of life in the upper Ohio Valley in the years following the Revolution. The journal of 1788 was published by the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio in 1873, that of 1789 in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* in 1921. Each was transcribed and edited by the Reverend Richard S. Edes, a grandson of John May. The acquisition by the Historical and Philosophical Society of manuscripts which were said to be the original May journals, and the discovery of wide discrepancies between them and the published versions, led Smith to his detecting mission. In his search he found the mutilated original journal of 1788 and a reasonably accurate copy of it; he also found the original journal of 1789. Comparison of them with the printed journals disclosed that the editor of the last had taken liberties that destroyed their reliability as historical documents. In the present volume Smith presents the authentic journals, with full notes of explanation and identification and an introductory essay on May and on the several versions of the journals.

*Ohio Historical Society*

JAMES H. RODABAUGH

THE LETTERS OF JOSÉ SEÑÁN, O.F.M., MISSION SAN BUENAVENTURA, 1796-1823. Translated by *Paul D. Nathan* and edited by *Lesley Byrd Simpson*. (San Francisco, Calif.: John Howell for the Ventura County Historical Society. 1962. Pp. vii, 175. \$15.00.) In this chronological compilation of his previously unpublished letters to friends and superiors Father Señán reveals both the busy life of a Franciscan and his own remarkable character. Simpson says these writings have "the grand sweep of tragedy," and particularly so in reports of the missions' gradual neglect by Spanish officialdom. Señán's report to the viceroy of New Spain on California conditions (1796) and a description of Bouchard's piratical attack (1818) are the most extensive. Historians will find good quotations to illustrate the hardships, delays, and reactions of California to Spanish and Mexican events. Simpson's introduction and notes explain obscure allusions and masterfully sketch Señán's life. These letters, found in three California repositories and Mexico's National Archives, add significantly to the limited primary material published in English on Spanish Alta California.

*Los Angeles County Museum*

JOHN E. BAUR

JOHN FORSYTH: POLITICAL TACTICIAN. By *Alvin Laroy Duckett*. (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1962. Pp. viii, 263. \$5.00.) The fact that no one published a biography of John Forsyth until more than a century after his death illustrates the fate of many of the "near great" in the collective memory. For more than

three decades, Forsyth was active in state, national, and foreign affairs. Yet few Americans today are cognizant of his career, and Alvin Duckett's monograph is his first book-length biography. Virginia-born, Princeton-educated, Forsyth began his political career when he was elected attorney general of Georgia at the age of twenty-eight. When thirty-three years of age, he became a member of the United States House of Representatives. After five years in the House and a few months in the Senate, he was appointed minister to Spain. Forsyth held this diplomatic post for four years and then returned to Washington where he spent the remainder of his life except for his one term as governor of Georgia. During his first years in Congress, Forsyth was broadly nationalistic in his political philosophy. After his return from Spain, however, he became a supporter of states' rights. As a United States senator during the Jackson administration, he turned again to nationalism. During the controversy over the tariff, he denounced nullification and was one of two southern senators to vote for the Force Bill. Because of this action, he was hanged and burned in effigy in several Georgia towns. As a loyal supporter of Jackson, Forsyth hoped for a cabinet appointment. In 1834, with the unanimous consent of the Senate, he became Secretary of State. He continued in this position during the administration of Van Buren and, according to his biographer, "acquitted himself in a capable manner." Duckett's life of Forsyth is based on careful and extensive research. He has handled his material admirably, and his scholarship is of high quality. He skillfully depicts Forsyth's career as a phase of the general political history of nineteenth-century America. His portrayal of Forsyth as a tactician is unconvincing, however. I found Forsyth a capable politician but hardly a shrewd manipulator.

*Texas Woman's University*

A. ELIZABETH TAYLOR

THE PEACE OF CHRISTMAS EVE. By *Fred L. Engelman*. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World. 1962. Pp. xii, 333. \$6.95.) Peace negotiations at Ghent, completed on December 24, 1814, can either be isolated in terms of the War of 1812, or they can be considered as one of the more suggestive colloquies in the history of the Napoleonic Wars. The latter consideration would entail a very close inquiry into the thinking of the Tory leaders and their advisers at this critical moment and of the influence of the negotiations themselves upon postwar British policies. The absence from Mr. Engelman's bibliography of such a book, for example, as W. R. Brock's *Lord Liverpool and Liberal Toryism* and the general weakness of his epilogue suggest that his interests never lay in this direction. As a narrative, his book does not suffer from this emphasis upon the American rather than the British aspects of the Peace of Ghent, but its freshness is a matter of embellishment, not of insight. Although the bibliography shows that the author consulted much valuable primary material, the study itself is quite conventional. The proximate cause of the War of 1812, for Engelman, was American land hunger; the Battle of Plattsburg was the event that changed the thinking of London; the American project of November 10 was the great document; the British government was serious in its final efforts to conclude a peace and was not just marking time in the expectation of a victory at New Orleans. One need not quarrel with these judgments, beyond pointing out that they have all been made before. Always agreeable, often witty, sometimes pungent, *The Peace of Christmas Eve* will give much pleasure. To those readers in some measure familiar with its subject, the pleasure will exceed the profit.

*Santa Barbara, California*

GEORGE DANGERFIELD

THE PANIC OF 1819: REACTIONS AND POLICIES. By *Murray N. Rothbard*. [Columbia Studies in the Social Sciences, Number 605.] (New York: Columbia Uni-

versity Press. 1962. Pp. vi, 261. \$6.00.) Mr. Rothbard's book, as his title and preface suggest, is not a historical study of the economic event called the Panic of 1819. Its concern rather is with the intellectual response to the panic by publicists and politicians in terms of proposed remedies and reforms, usually without evaluation by the author himself. He begins with a brief sketch of the economic situation of the United States between 1815 and 1821, entitled "The Panic and Its Genesis," but this is more descriptive than analytical and is not intended to add to existing knowledge. The other chapters constitute the core of the book and are concerned with proposals for direct relief of debtors, attempts to expand or contract credit and the money supply through state or national action, and the protective tariff. These, in the author's opinion, were the major matters of controversy during the panic years, and he concludes with an appendix listing proposed minor remedies such as state expenditures for internal improvements and repeal of the usury laws. His emphasis throughout is centrally theoretical, almost, though not quite, without concern for the practical, and this is probably the reason why nowhere in the book does he discuss one of the most important practical and theoretical controversies of the period: that between Langdon Cheves, president of the Bank of the United States, and Nicholas Biddle, a government director, concerning the Bank's policy and function. This institution had the power, legal and financial, to take positive steps for relief and reconstruction, but, under Cheves's leadership, was unwilling to do so. No other means was so readily and immediately available, and most of the controversies that constitute the bulk of Rothbard's narrative would not have been necessary if the Bank had been willing to permit a moderate expansion. Otherwise the book deserves high praise. It is clearly and sympathetically written with real concern for what the numerous commentators were trying to say and for the contemporary reader.

*New York University*

THOMAS P. GOVAN

CANAL OR RAILROAD? IMITATION AND INNOVATION IN THE RESPONSE TO THE ERIE CANAL IN PHILADELPHIA, BALTIMORE, AND BOSTON. By *Julius Rubin*. [Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, Volume LI, Part 7.] (Philadelphia: the Society. 1961. Pp. 106. \$2.50.) The purpose of this "limited comparative study of Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Boston in the second quarter of the nineteenth century" is to determine the considerations that led each to choose a canal or a railroad to the West as its response to the successful competition threatened by New York City and its Erie Canal. Each of these Atlantic coast rivals, the study argues, faced certain similar conditions: the threat of the Erie and a mountain terrain intervening between them and their desired western terminals, each operated with the same knowledge about the technology and costs of railroads and canals. Yet Philadelphia chose a mongrel main line of canals and railroads constructed and operated by the state; Baltimore chose the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, largely promoted and financed by private investors; and Boston postponed the decision for a decade until private and public enterprise built a railroad over the Berkshires to the Hudson. These "differences of behavior are to be explained by attitudinal rather than situational factors; by divergences in the history and tradition of the three regions which produced differences in the attitudes that the decision-making groups brought to the common problem rather than differences in the problem itself." If one is to be so austere logical, all variables must be nailed down. In spite of his carefulness and thoroughness, I do not think Mr. Rubin has succeeded completely in doing this. For the reader it does not make too much difference. Rubin shrinks from explaining these differences of attitude. To investigate the entire history, traditions, and social structure which account for the differences is a project in itself. His reluctance is understandable

and tantalizing. Entirely aside, however, from his assumptions and disavowals, he has nonetheless given us the best narrative we have of the state of engineering knowledge about railroads in the late twenties. In his exceptionally full treatment of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania he describes fascinatingly the irrationality and confusion that accompanied the choices there taken. "Mania" also prevailed among the sober business promoters of the Baltimore and Ohio. In comparison with these two, Boston seems a center of calm rationality—which is as it should be. Whether or not his case is airtight, the author has provided enough evidence to support his thesis that "the understanding of the historical process depends as much upon the analysis of the subjective traits of groups as it does upon the analysis of the pressure of objective circumstances." This may be heresy; it still makes sense.

*Thetford Center, Vermont*

EDWARD C. KIRKLAND

THE PAGEANT OF THE PRESS: A SURVEY OF 125 YEARS OF IOWA JOURNALISM, 1836-1961. By *William J. Petersen*. (Iowa City: State Historical Society of Iowa. 1962. Pp. x, 118. Bound \$7.50, paper \$6.00.) A little less than eight pages of this unusual volume are devoted to a narrative and descriptive history of Iowa newspapers, but what pages! They measure slightly over twelve by sixteen inches. This is because most of the book is devoted to facsimile reproductions of entire pages of historic papers—over a hundred such pages. The history itself, though comparatively brief, presents a remarkably well-backgrounded, readable, and enlightening analysis of Iowa's old newspapers. Petersen has chosen his high spots very well, and it is a great relief to read a state newspaper history in which the author has not found it necessary to eulogize some hundreds of journals. This is not that kind of compendium. As to the facsimiles, they are well reproduced and no less than fascinating to look over. Territorial journals are emphasized, but not much less so than those of 1846-1865. Most of these are run-of-the-mill issues, and not all front pages. Later, and in the twentieth century especially, several display news of outstanding historical events.

*University of Missouri*

FRANK LUTHER MOTT

EDWARD KERN AND AMERICAN EXPANSION. By *Robert V. Hine*. [Yale Western Americana Series, Number 1.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1962. Pp. xix, 180, 53 plates. \$6.00.) When Frémont's third expedition moved out of Westport, Missouri, in the spring of 1845 a young Philadelphia illustrator named Edward Kern was with the party. In addition to sketching Indians and animals Kern took astronomical observations to determine location, worked at maps, and became Frémont's assistant in charge of topography. During the passage he kept a journal, carefully recording soil characteristics, plant life, and land forms; he occasionally made editorial comments about the primitive nature of the country. Upon reaching the Sacramento Valley the party found itself in the midst of the Bear Flag revolt and the Mexican War. When Frémont organized the California battalion, Kern signed up as a first lieutenant on detached duty and was placed in command of Fort Sutter. The Frémont-Kearny-Stockton imbroglio, which resulted in the Pathfinder's court-martial, ended Kern's stay in California; he returned to Philadelphia by sea. Still fascinated by the West, Kern joined Frémont's ill-fated fourth expedition of 1848 and persuaded his brothers, Dick and Ben, to go along (their diaries are in print, edited by the Hafens). The Kerns suffered along with the others when the party became lost, the scout "Old Bill" Williams wanting to go one way, and Frémont another. The Rocky Mountain winter closed its grip, and disaster followed. The Kern brothers ended up in Santa Fe, exhausted and without money or baggage. Later in the spring

of 1849 Ben went back into the mountains with "Old Bill" and a few others to locate the baggage; there he died at the hands of the Indians. Ned Kern's testimony, particularly the acid comments he and his brothers directed at Frémont, gives additional dimension to the third and fourth expeditions of Senator Benton's overrated son-in-law. Ned Kern stayed on in New Mexico until 1851, practicing his trade, but this was the last of his western experiences. Later he joined the Ringgold-Rodger and the Brooke Expeditions to the Far East, after which he returned to Philadelphia where he died in 1863. His naval experiences are a separate story, but had they not been included the book would have ended on page ninety-eight. Hine writes well and has a feeling for the country through which he takes his youthful explorer. While the volume lacks maps, fifty illustrations plus attractive art work at the beginning of each chapter make the book a handsome addition to Yale's Western Americana Series.

*University of Colorado*

ROBERT G. ATHEARN

THE GALVESTON ERA: THE TEXAS CRESCENT ON THE EVE OF SECESSION. By *Earl Wesley Fornell*. (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1961. Pp. xiv, 355. \$5.00.) Fornell has adeptly written a history of Galveston in the 1850's that maintains its focus while supplying sufficient collateral information to give the island's history perspective. During this era, Galveston was clearly the financial and population hub of Texas; hence the study fills an important niche in the state's history. This volume, rather than being strictly a history of the island, portrays the interplay between Galveston and the other areas of commercial and political force in the state. One of the book's strengths is the way it documents the inevitability of Galveston's losing its ascendancy to the rival rail city of Houston. The first portion of the study is an institutional history, treating such topics as Galveston's professions (with the notable exception of the oldest, for which the isle has long been notorious), commerce, banking, government, education, religion, journalism, and society. In addition to affluent Anglo-Americans engaged in commerce, Galveston boasted a sizable contingent of German immigrants who prospered in trade. An index to the influence of the German-Americans was the fact that the newspaper with the largest circulation was the German-language *Die Union*. These Germans, along with natives of England, Spain, Ireland, France, and Italy, gave the island a decidedly cosmopolitan flavor. Since Texans, irrespective of era, have never been noted for their subtlety, a Galvestonian usage of the 1850's seems particularly quaint. The well-to-do, not wanting to indulge in conspicuous consumption, dressed modestly, but they advertised their economic status by attiring their slaves splendidly. The last two sections of the book deal with Texas' expanding cotton economy; its concomitant need for more slaves, which resulted in reopening the illicit African slave trade and filibustering; the developing rail system; and the economic pressures that caused the state to stand with the Confederacy. Fornell has based his history on extensive research in the primary documents: newspapers, consular reports, court proceedings, and manuscript collections. The volume contains helpful comment on the sources and attractive woodcuts by Lowell Collins.

*Washington, D. C.*

WALTER RUNDELL, JR.

LINCOLN: A CONTEMPORARY PORTRAIT. Edited by *Allan Nevins* and *Irving Stone*. (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company. 1962. Pp. ix, 226. \$4.50.) In the introduction to these collectanea, Irving Stone explains that "this book has come into being because a group of friends and Lincoln enthusiasts living close to each other in Southern California, plus one or two friends of friends, wanted to do something to celebrate the Lincoln Sesquicentennial." Stone adds: "We asked ourselves what could be more appropriate than to take a fresh look at the story of Abraham Lincoln, each of us



in his own field, and see if we could not come up with interesting approaches to some of the facets of the president's many sided nature." Thus Allan Nevins writes on "Lincoln's Ideas of Democracy," Fawn Brodie on "Lincoln and Thaddeus Stevens," Harold Hyman on "Lincoln's Mars: Edwin M. Stanton," William E. Marsh on "Lincoln and Henry W. Halleck," Norman Corwin on "Lincoln and Douglas: The Tangled Weave," Sherrill Halbert on "Lincoln Suspends the Writ of Habeas Corpus," David Miller on "Lincoln and the Sioux Outbreak," Jay Monaghan on "Books and Libraries in Lincoln's Time," Mort Lewis on "Lincoln's Humour," Marianne Moore on "Lincoln and the Art of the Word," and Andrew Rolle on "A Biographical Lincoln." An appendix provides the writers' comment upon their work. Some of the papers are learned, some are wise, some are gay, all are lighted by a western sun. This glare has produced an occasional freckle, blemish, or typo. By way of a bibliographical note: let it be pointed out that Miss Moore's excellent essay seems to be substantially a reprint of her contribution to *Lincoln for the Ages*, edited by Ralph G. Newman and issued by the same publisher as recently as 1960. But despite superficial faults and occasionally warmed-up fare, the studies are generally sound, lithe, and lively; in combination they attain a fixed integrity.

Washington, D. C.

DAVID C. MEARNS

LINCOLN AND THE NEGRO. By *Benjamin Quarles*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1962. Pp. 275. \$6.50.) In November 1860 Abraham Lincoln as President-elect was reminded of the story of a Kentucky justice of the peace who, when confronted with a baffling case involving slaves, exclaimed: "I will be damned if I don't feel almost sorry for being elected when the niggers is the first thing I have to attend to." How Lincoln as President attended to the Negroes and how they responded to his efforts—this is the dual theme of the latest book by Benjamin Quarles, author of three previous books on the Negro's part in American history. In the present study, as Quarles implies by its title, he is concerned with the Negro as well as Lincoln, and with the Negro in an active as well as a passive role. Here is no mere recounting of Lincoln's proposals and accomplishments as if these derived from his inner consciousness or from the white world alone, without regard to the desires and demands of the colored people of the time. Here it is shown, for example, that Lincoln composed his eloquent letter to Governor Hahn urging the vote for selected Negroes in Louisiana only after he had listened to the appeal of a colored delegation from New Orleans. Quarles does not go into such rather speculative questions as these: When, if ever, did Lincoln finally lose interest in colonization? Was he, in his eagerness for an early peace, willing (in 1864-1865) to qualify his stand on emancipation? What thought did he give, in his planning for Reconstruction as a whole, to the actual securing of freedmen's rights in the postwar South? The author deals very ably, nevertheless, with his subject as he has defined it. Throughout, he handles it in an objective and sympathetic spirit. He treats myth as well as fact, but never confuses the two. Myths, indeed, form an important part of his subject. "In fine," he concludes, "Lincoln became Lincoln because of the Negro, and it was the latter who first reflected the image of the Lincoln that was to live."

University of Wisconsin

RICHARD N. CURRENT

FESSENDEN OF MAINE: CIVIL WAR SENATOR. By *Charles A. Jellison*. (Syracuse, N. Y.: Syracuse University Press. 1962. Pp. vi, 294. \$5.50.) It is good to have this "small biography" of William Pitt Fessenden. There is instruction here for those who persist in employing omnibus labels for all Republicans of the Civil War and Reconstruction years. The man could grow. For three crowded decades he tried to hold to a middle course in public matters. Whiggism brought him into Republican ranks, not



humanitarianism. In Fessenden's words he was no "sickly sentimentalist" or "humanity monger." Nevertheless even men in the middle came by 1860 to accept the need for a showdown on the secession issue. Instruction also emerges from Fessenden's career as a senator. Lincoln knew him as one of his most effective supporters on Capitol Hill, and this regard was not diminished by Fessenden's support of the joint congressional committee that sought to guide the conduct of the war. Fessenden quickly adopted an anti-McClellan posture. He moved ahead to support the need for emancipation. A son was killed; another was seriously wounded in the Union's cause. After a stint as Lincoln's Treasury Secretary, Fessenden returned to the Senate. He tried vainly to hold Johnson to a moderate course, but, failing in this, Fessenden, like most Republicans, pushed ahead in defiance of the President. As chairman of the joint committee on reconstruction affairs, Fessenden was too well acquainted with what was going on in the South to become a recruit for Johnson's restoring Democracy. Though at the impeachment trial Fessenden voted against conviction, he did not thereafter become a martyr to radical wrath. All this is clear enough. Professor Jellison deserves substantial credit for achieving this clarity of description. The author's views are, however, less clear than his subject's actions. In light of his insistence on Fessenden's dynamic moderation, one wonders, for example, how Jellison can also advance the old view that Johnson was in fact emulating Lincoln's reconstruction policy. If this judgment is correct, then Fessenden requires a different evaluation than is offered here. Further, there is a sense of inadequacy of analysis in other places in this volume. Fessenden's Treasury experience offers no insight into cabinet personalities and policies. The shiftings of political allegiances in 1865-1868 are left almost unexplained, though Fessenden had to explore them and to choose a route. Fessenden himself does not come alive, perhaps because this is more an overview of his public career than a biography. *Fessenden of Maine*, in sum, is a valuable contribution to the literature on the Republicans. It is not the last word on Fessenden or on the other leaders of the young Republican organization.

*University of California, Los Angeles*

HAROLD M. HYMAN

LION OF WHITE HALL: THE LIFE OF CASSIUS M. CLAY. By *David L. Smiley*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1962. Pp. ix, 294. \$6.00.) Cassius Marcellus Clay was born in 1810. As a young man he plunged into Kentucky politics in an effort to broaden the state's economy by advocating manufactures and by encouraging the farmers to produce more grain and meat and less tobacco. The slaveholding planters opposed his efforts to foster manufacturing, for they wanted the state to remain agrarian. Clay fought their domination of the state, and in so doing raised the banner of anti-slavery. Clay had no love for the Negro. His opposition to slavery was motivated by a conviction that the peculiar institution was economically disadvantageous to Kentucky and by his mistaken belief that he could carry with him the nonslaveholding majority of the state's population. He established in 1845 at Lexington a weekly newspaper, *The True American*. Its press was shortly dismantled by irate Lexingtonians and shipped to Cincinnati. Outraged by this violence, Clay broadened his attack on slavery to include moral and religious as well as economic grounds. The rest of Clay's life was largely a quest for high office. To that end he enlisted in the Mexican War, only to be ingloriously captured by the Mexicans. At first a Whig in politics, by 1848 he had turned against his distant relative Henry Clay and had become a Free Soiler. In the middle 1850's he joined the Republican party. He tried for the Republican nomination for President, and also for Vice-President, in 1860. Lincoln appointed him minister to Russia, a post he filled in dubious fashion for over six years. On returning to the United States, he joined the Liberal Republicans, went over to the Democrats after 1872, and went back to the Republican fold in 1884, all in a vain search for political preferment. He died in 1903.

"Cash" Clay was a conceited, bombastic, hard-swearing, pistol-toting, and bowie knife-carrying eccentric who never really grew up. He had some talent as an orator, but he was essentially a romantic devoid of political realism. A little man, he tried to play a big role, and failed. Professor Smiley has told his story faithfully, and obviously at times with a wry face. There will be no need for telling it again.

*University of Rochester*

GLYNDON G. VAN DEUSEN

THE SECESSION CONVENTIONS OF THE SOUTH. By *Ralph A. Wooster*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1962. Pp. viii, 294. \$6.50.) To the mass of publications that have accompanied the Civil War centennial, Professor Wooster's book brings a certain freshness in providing original research and new information. Despite a century's accumulation of material and writing on secession, comparatively little attention has been accorded the men who actively participated in the work of the state conventions and the revolutionary movement initiated by these bodies. Conspicuously absent are analyses of the personal interests, political and economic ambitions, and other motivating factors that influenced these individuals to embrace the cause of disunion. This volume represents a pioneer effort in the exploration of a number of characteristics of the more than eighteen hundred men faced with official consideration of secession in 1860-1861. An enormous amount of research in the manuscript census returns of 1860, a relatively unmined source, furnishes the basis for the study which is largely statistical in nature. By "totaling or averaging" his information, the author seeks to develop an insight into the typical membership and work of the bodies charged with the secession decision. On a state-by-state basis he surveys the nativity, ages, occupations, slaveholding, and property interests of the members, the former political orientation of their constituents, and correlates his findings to show similarities and variations among the conventions and legislatures of the fifteen slave states. Although his conclusions are well founded, they should produce no significant reinterpretation of the economic, political, or social forces that signalized the failure of the democratic system in 1860-1861. Wooster does, however, establish a new route of research which holds promise for more intensive study of the motivation of the principals in the final secession crisis. Unfortunately the magnitude of attempting a statistical analysis of the personnel of the conventions while at the same time chronicling their work has led the author into acceptance of doubtful generalizations. That "cooperationists believed in secession as strongly" as separate state actionists in any state is open to question. Division among Texas voters on the irregular method of calling a convention was more complicated than the author implies, and although one could accept the fact that no great planter conspiracy existed in that state, the twelve great planters who were delegates represented 3.68 per cent of that class while lesser planters were represented by 1.29 per cent of their class. More precisely in error is the statement that two members of the Arkansas convention, Thomas B. Hanley and Clark H. Flanagan, were former governors of the state. Hanley was never governor of Arkansas, and Flanagan served later as war governor. As a new approach to the study of a complicated phase of American history, Wooster's work deserves serious attention, and subsequent research in this vein should clarify certain aspects of a movement that continues to be a source of historical controversy.

*North Texas State University*

JACK B. SCROGGS

NORTH CAROLINA IN 1861. By *James H. Boykin*. (New York: Bookman Associates. 1961. Pp. 237. \$5.00.) In his thoughtful introduction Professor Boykin of St. Augustine's College in Raleigh, North Carolina, points up certain striking similarities between North Carolina's position on the eve of the Civil War and a century later. In 1861 the state "drifted reluctantly and enigmatically into secession against her better

judgment and against the welfare of her predominantly agricultural yeomanry." Its moderation did not spare North Carolina the death and devastation of the war, but, Boykin argues, it did leave the state "free to enter more readily and more gracefully" into the postwar era. In 1961 the state was reluctant and worried about desegregation but moderation prevailed, and it seemed that North Carolina would "move into the post-segregation era with grace and a minimum of discomfort and dislocation." The purpose of this study, therefore, is to demonstrate both the "virtues and faults of moderation in social evolution" by examining the critical year of a century ago. Unfortunately this purpose is not satisfactorily realized. Boykin explains, again in the introduction, that he has scrupulously tried to apply the scientific method to social phenomena. Ignoring most secondary accounts and working exclusively from an impressive number and variety of original sources, he has eschewed editorializing adjectives and weighted "adverse evidence" as heavily as "conforming evidence." The result is not so much a meaningful narrative as it is a collection of data, some of it interesting, that has been laboriously mined from the sources. Part One consists of chapters on government and population, the economy, state and local regulations, education and propaganda, and the churches. Part Two deals with the drift toward secession. Despite the value of much of the material included in this book, the reader who wants a more coherent account of secession in North Carolina will still have recourse to J. Carlyle Sitterson, *The Secession Movement in North Carolina* (1939).

Duke University

ROBERT F. DURDEN

COMMANDERS OF THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC. By Warren W. Hassler, Jr. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1962. Pp. xxi, 281. \$6.00.) This book is a series of brief and disjunctive essays on the seven generals who commanded the Army of the Potomac from 1861 to 1865: Irving McDowell, George B. McClellan, John Pope, Ambrose E. Burnside, Joseph Hooker, George G. Meade, and U. S. Grant. The essays are neither wholly biographical nor wholly analytical, but whatever they are they are not likely to satisfy the Civil War historian. For the casual reader the sketches doubtless will be interesting, but for the serious student of the war they add little or nothing to what is already known about these generals and of the command system within which they functioned. (Actually, of course, only five of the generals commanded the Army of the Potomac. This army was not organized until August 1861, after McDowell had fought at Bull Run, and at the end of the war it was under the direct command of Meade, not Grant.) The portraits that emerge are but faintly retouched reproductions of those already existing. McDowell was "unfitted by training and experience for any command." "McClellan had a real talent for devising sweeping plans of grand strategy," but he "frequently magnified difficulties confronting him, and failed to allow for similar problems facing the enemy." Pope had an "obnoxious character," and "neither his men nor his officers had any confidence in him." Burnside "showed little imagination in anything." Hooker "was incapable of sustained mental concentration of a high order." Meade was "a sound though by no means a great commander." He was merely "a brave, methodical and conscientious soldier." Grant is given about the position usually accorded him with special accolades for his "appreciation of the political-military relationship." In his preface Hassler states that no previous book has done what his is trying to do and that no previous author "really comes to grips with any of these generals." This is a most unfortunate statement because it ignores the excellent work of T. Harry Williams in *Lincoln and His Generals*, of Kenneth Williams' *Lincoln Finds a General*, and of numerous other students of the Federal command system. They have come to grips with the problems and the men.

Tulane University

JOHN P. DYER

DR. MARY WALKER: THE LITTLE LADY IN PANTS. By *Charles McCool Snyder*. (New York: Vantage Press. 1962. Pp. 166. \$3.95.) As a trousered truant from tradition, Mary Edwards Walker made a spectacle and a nuisance of herself on two continents. In the course of a long life she polygamously espoused many causes; one by one they deserted her, until, at the end, she had left only her breeches and her impenetrable self-importance. A graduate of Syracuse Medical College, Dr. Walker achieved the high point of her professional career during the Civil War when she was appointed an assistant surgeon (without military rank) in the Union Army. Captured by the Confederates, she was imprisoned in Richmond's Castle Thunder and was eventually exchanged for a major. These "services and sufferings" persuaded Congress and Andrew Johnson to bestow on her the Medal of Honor, an award officially withdrawn more than half a century later for want of specificity in the citation. She refused to relinquish it. In this fastidiously documented biography, Mr. Snyder concedes her obnoxious traits, her compulsive contentiousness, and her instinctive exaggeration, but implies that this faddist, feminist, and fabulist was also endowed with a kind of fascination. Perhaps she was.

*Washington, D. C.*

DAVID C. MEARNS

THE FIRST CENTURY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON, 1861-1961. By *Charles M. Gates*. (Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1961. Pp. xiv, 252. \$7.50.) From a meager territorial institution in a remote woods, the University of Washington has grown into an urbanized giant. The university has had a singularly checkered administrative history; presidents have come and gone with disconcerting rapidity. The state legislature and governors have frequently interfered in university affairs, both out of mischief and ignorance. One is led to speculate on how much of the success of any great American university is the result of conscious planning or of such factors of chance as that which placed the University of Washington in a rapidly growing population center. The general high quality of this history attests to the seriousness with which professional historians are coming to regard the long-neglected field of higher education. One wishes that this book were more lively and imaginative and that there were not so much gentlemanly reluctance to pass sharp judgments on men and events. The author and his assistants fail to answer some of the most important questions that their study raises: What has been the role of leadership in shaping this institution? How much has this university affected the culture, the politics, the economy of its state and region? What are the implications for the future, as the public stake in higher education grows ever larger, of the attempts at ideological control by public officials and vested interests? The format deserves the severest censure. An awkward double quarto size with purple binding gives the total effect of a 1930's yearbook. At first glance one finds it hard to believe that this is more than a public relations blurb written to celebrate a centennial, something to be displayed, not read. Gates's painstaking work deserved better from his publisher.

*Colorado College*

LOUIS G. GEIGER

FORT PHIL KEARNY: AN AMERICAN SAGA. By *Dee Brown*. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1962. Pp. 251. \$4.95.) For students of the Indian wars, the annihilation of Captain William J. Fetterman's command of eighty men by Red Cloud's Sioux in December 1866 has long held a fascination second only to the Custer disaster ten years later. Colonel Henry B. Carrington's ill-fated attempt to keep open the Montana Road, his personality clashes with rash subordinates and unsympathetic superiors, and the series of reverses that culminated in the Fetterman Massacre have been chronicled many times. Dee Brown's treatment focuses on the saga of Fort Phil

Kearny and thus does not cover the broader sweep presented by Grace Hebard and E. A. Brininstool in *The Bozeman Trail*, the standard work for forty years. But for this central phase of the story, deeper research combined with more skillful organization and presentation makes *Fort Phil Kearny* of greater value than *The Bozeman Trail*. Brown has made a genuine contribution to the history of the Indian wars.

*National Park Service*

ROBERT M. UTLEY

THE PROMISED CITY: NEW YORK'S JEWS, 1870-1914. By *Moses Rischin*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1962. Pp. xvi, 342. \$7.50.) Moses Rischin's thoughtfully conceived and well-written study of New York's East European Jews, covering the period 1870 to 1914, is "Handlin-craft" that does credit to the master. To the East European Jews, more than to any other immigrant group as a whole, New York City rather than the nation at large was the "Promised Land." Between 1870 and 1914, the folk exodus of this people added more than two million newcomers to the United States; by 1914 more than half of the nation's Yiddish immigrants were living in New York City. Rischin is at his best in dealing with his central, and dual, theme: the impact of the East European Jews on the development of New York City and the role of the urban community in facilitating their adjustment to the New World. He shows how, with skills acquired in Europe, they promoted the increasing identification of the garment industry with the Empire City and how their close familial living encouraged the pattern of home-oriented, small-unit production that came to prevail therein. He contends, moreover, that the resulting tenement environment and the protests of Jews and others against it gave significant impetus to the reform movement of the early twentieth century. Equally valuable is his discussion of the urban institutions through which the new arrivals found an adjustment to the American scene: the *landsmanshaften* which embraced virtually every immigrant household by 1914, the benevolent societies, the Yiddish press and theater, the coffee house or Jewish "saloon," and ultimately the garment workers' unions, in which the voice of the Lower East Side had become influential by the close of the period. He is less convincing, perhaps because here he seems to be less objective, in treating the attitudes of this immigrant group and its relations with other segments of the urban community. One wonders, at times, whether he does not overstress the idealism of these newcomers, as well as underplay the manifestations of prejudice, both in German Jews and other nationality groups, of which they were victims in these years.

*New York University*

BAYRD STILL

THE EARLY JEWISH LABOR MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES. Edited by *Elias Tcherikower*. Translated and revised by *Aaron Antonovsky* from the original Yiddish. (New York: Yivo Institute for Jewish Research. 1961. Pp. v, 379.) Condensed from the original two volumes prepared between 1943 and 1945 by Elias Tcherikower and a dozen other students of Jewish labor, and now better integrated by Aaron Antonovsky, this volume is a useful, if modest and necessarily minor addition to American labor history. Conceivably it may prove more valuable to those eager for handy sketches of conditions prevalent among elements of American Jewry late in the last century. The pretensions of the title aside, the emphasis falls heavily on East European (Russian) Jews, who, emigrating to the United States during the eighties and nineties, formed important minorities within the garment and related industries, the tobacco trades, and several lesser pursuits in New York City. After an extensive treatment of the *Shtetl* way of life, indeed of the general context from which the Russian Jews emerged, supplemented by a chapter on the halfway house which London proved to be for many of them, the study moves to the main configurations of their labor ac-



tivities in New York. Amid the narrative development, attention is given to the interplay of revolutionary ideologues—radical, socialist, and anarchist—with the spontaneous dissidence upwelling periodically among the sweated Jewish workers. The difficulties inhering in the organization of these immigrants are made obvious: the European background which psychologically equipped them for a more individualistic existence, the lack of industrial experience, the problems posed by linguistic and social barriers in their American context, the deep divisions between these Russian Jews and the better-established German Jews, the clashes of traditions, including religious traditions, and the instabilities of pioneering unionism uncertain of its goals. Against these themes constructive achievements make their unlikely appearance, culminating in the pattern of organization emergent in the garment trades and in the Jewish Labor Federation of the early nineties. I found most interesting the chapters dealing with peddlers and sweatshops and with the New York garment industry. The summary portion of the last chapter was helpful and especially well done. However commendable in some regards, the book unhappily lacks elegance. Admittedly certain disabilities may have been imposed by the larger, rambling Yiddish version; they are nonetheless unfortunate. Considering the objectives of this work, entirely too much attention is given the European matrix, though the materials are handled with insight and humanity. Apparently no effort was made to bring Tcherikower's scholarship up to date; hence the background materials dealing with aspects of immigration, American labor history, and social and economic trends in the last portion of the nineteenth century seem almost quaint in light of nearly two decades of progress in historical and behavioral studies.

*University of Florida*

C. K. YEARLEY, JR.

**CALLED UNTO HOLINESS. THE STORY OF THE NAZARENES: THE FORMATIVE YEARS.** By *Timothy L. Smith*. (Kansas City, Mo.: Nazarene Publishing House. 1962. Pp. 413. \$4.95.) This book was written under the auspices of the Nazarene Church History Commission and reviewed by the commission prior to publication. Beginning with an analysis of the holiness revivals of the Civil War era, it treats subsequent conflicts between those who espoused entire sanctification and those who derided it, the withdrawal of holiness factions from Methodist and other communions, the organization of the Church of the Nazarene in 1908, and the progress of the new denomination through its "formative years," to 1933. Professor Smith is particularly successful in relating the sect to political progressivism, to religious fundamentalism, and to social, economic, and intellectual trends. Nazarenes diverged markedly from those tendencies which H. Richard Niebuhr and others ascribe to sects of the disinherited. They did not abandon sacraments, education, traditional doctrines, or traditional polity. Indeed "loyalty to old patterns . . . was their hallmark." Nor did this fellowship of the poor await an early deliverance through social upheaval or through a Second Advent. This is a copiously documented, perceptive, ably written volume, although its tone is apologetic. A better-balanced treatment would deal more charitably with efforts of parent churches to accommodate Christian teachings to new knowledge, to curtail revivals and revivalists, and to emphasize spiritual growth. Smith also slights the social implications of this body which Elmer T. Clark assigns to the holiness "right wing." Why did Nazarene leaders champion legal prohibition yet generally dissociate themselves from the agitation of middle- and upper-class churches for broader reform legislation? Do puritanical virtues bring economic prosperity to Nazarenes in our complex urban society as evidently they did to Methodists in an earlier era? These and other questions deserve further attention.

*Texas Western College*

KENNETH K. BAILEY



STRUGGLE FOR EQUAL OPPORTUNITY: DIRT FARMERS AND THE AMERICAN COUNTRY LIFE ASSOCIATION. By *Orrin L. Keener*. (New York: Vantage Press, 1961. Pp. 278. \$3.75.) In the realm of scholarly endeavor it is unfortunate when adequacy of research and clarity of organization do not match the significance of the subject. For the author of this book, manuscript collections, scholarly journals, and competent monographs do not seem to exist. *Agricultural History*, with its many bibliographical aids and a substantial number of relevant articles, is ignored. Not least in the last category is the excellent article by Clayton Ellsworth on the Country Life Commission. Careful scanning of the backnotes (neither a bibliography nor an index grace the volume) reveals the use of a great variety of printed sources ranging from the principal farm journals to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, but it also reveals the failure to use any material published after 1940. The book's subtitle raises the expectation that actual cultivators of the soil and the Country Life Association will be the centers of interest, but this prospect is not fulfilled. The greater part of the material is drawn from what editors, correspondents, politicians, travelers, and government officials have said about farmers and farming. The association, moreover, receives scant attention. An opening chapter of fewer than ten pages covers its "Beginnings and Objectives." A concluding paragraph of fewer than ten lines contains its obituary. The intervening material contains commentary on the conditions and characteristics of rural life from fourteenth-century England to the twentieth-century United States. In selecting and presenting this material it was the author's purpose to provide "an interpretive study tracing some of the earlier phases of our farmers' long struggle for the good life." Much information, a number of unsupported generalizations, some errors of fact, and some challenging observations characterize the author's attempt to achieve his goal.

*University of Kansas*

GEORGE L. ANDERSON

THE COEUR D'ALENE MINING WAR OF 1892: A CASE STUDY OF AN INDUSTRIAL DISPUTE. By *Robert Wayne Smith*. [Oregon State Monographs, Studies in History Number 2.] (2d ed.; Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 1961. Pp. xi, 132. \$4.00.) In his sympathetic but reasonably objective narrative Professor Smith examines the early mining conflicts in the Coeur d'Alene country of northern Idaho. Labor's awakening class consciousness and growing realization of the potentialities of organization for bargaining is his central theme. These events of 1892 were overshadowed by the famous Homestead Strike, and historians have generally neglected this important chapter in the antecedents of the Western Federation of Miners. This was written as a doctoral essay a quarter of a century ago. Collections that have since become available, such as the Samuel T. Hauser papers at the Wyoming State Historical Society, may not significantly alter this treatment, but nevertheless they should be utilized.

*Miami University*

DWIGHT L. SMITH

THE AMATEUR DEMOCRAT: CLUB POLITICS IN THREE CITIES. By *James Q. Wilson*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962. Pp. xv, 378. \$6.95.) *The Amateur Democrat* is concerned with persons whose ideas about the use of political power do not coincide with the ideas of those exercising party or governmental leadership. The amateur is interested in ideas and principles, not in persons. The amateur prefers to vote on policies rather than on politicians. On the other hand, the professional is preoccupied with winning and maintaining power; this means winning votes, which has little to do with following principles. The amateur Democrats work under several handicaps. They do not feel they should centralize power in their clubs, with the result that the rewards in terms of power are insufficient to keep

most amateurs active for more than a very few years. Nor do the amateur clubs feel they can compromise with other social and political power structures and survive as independent forces. Finally, the amateur's predominantly middle-class background discourages sympathetic cooperation with Negroes, Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, and the leaders of organized labor. These factors diminish the amateur clubs' potential contributions to the total liberal (Democratic) movement. The book focuses on club politics in three cities: New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles. I wish the author's primary research comprehended a wider range of amateur clubs. The book's findings beg systematic comparison with experience in the South and in Republican clubs, as well as with the effect of the Populist, Progressive, and more recent "amateur" movements on political power structures in midwestern cities and towns. But it is hardly fair to criticize a book because it has restricted itself to its stated bounds. The book has thoroughly covered its assigned territory and has generalized usefully and suggestively from its findings. The literature of political behavior is amply cited. Students and observers of urban politics will read this book with profit. It treats an important subject capably. Its careful style is especially appreciated in a period when widely read non-fiction is so often carelessly organized, developed, and written.

*University of South Dakota*

ALAN L. CLEM

A MANY-COLORED TOGA: THE DIARY OF HENRY FOUNTAIN ASHURST. Edited by *George F. Sparks*. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1962. Pp. xvi, 416. \$7.50.) The diary of Arizona's late Senator Ashurst covers twenty-seven years, 1910-1937. Here was a man who achieved the image of the senator more than most of his colleagues, yet left an impression in his journal of holding in cynical contempt lesser men, fickle voters, and favor seekers. There are many useful, incisive, and often witty characterizations of the giants of his era from Presidents to Senate barbers. Ashurst never was in step with the New Deal, and the diary ends with his comments on his part as chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee in scuttling "Eff Dee's" court-packing scheme. The editing is confined to a section called "Personae" which identifies many of the people mentioned in the journal entries.

*Arizona State University*

PAUL HUBBARD

AN AFFAIR OF HONOR: WOODROW WILSON AND THE OCCUPATION OF VERACRUZ. By *Robert E. Quirk*. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press for the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, 1962. Pp. vi, 184. \$5.00.) Winner of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association's prize in American history, *An Affair of Honor* is a significant study. Professor Quirk has done an excellent job of finding the available materials both in the United States and in Mexico. Although the author is concerned largely with the occupation of Veracruz, he begins by discussing the Tampico incident. President Wilson, says the author, was not receiving competent advice. John Lind, the President's agent in Mexico, was not equipped for his post, since he was anti-Catholic, he spoke no Spanish, and he was ignorant of Mexican history. When Wilson refused to give the press accurate information, exaggerated and unfortunate releases from Mexico appeared in American papers. Wilson assumed a bellicose attitude and seemed determined not to compromise. Soon a diplomatic impasse was reached, and war clouds lowered. Oddly enough, as Quirk points out, Huerta welcomed Wilson's steps toward intervention as the only way to save his government. Americans in Mexico apparently hoped that war would result. While some imperialistic Republicans, led by Senator Henry C. Lodge, sought military intervention, Wilson dispatched a fleet to Mexican waters, seized Veracruz, and stirred up public opinion at home. The author disagrees with Professor Arthur Link by taking the position that there was little op-

position to Wilson's policy in the United States. Quirk contends that Wilson knew little of the true situation in Veracruz. He thought that the port could be occupied without opposition. Soon the entire city was in arms. When the President learned about the fighting, with casualties on both sides, he was visibly affected. For some months, over seven thousand marines held the city. In seeking a face-saving way out, Wilson readily accepted the offer of mediation by the ABC powers. Wilson negotiated with Carranza, leader of the Constitutionalist forces for the evacuation of Veracruz. The author concludes that Wilson's policy was dictatorial, and, regardless of benefits, was unacceptable to Mexico. Quirk may not have written the last word on the subject because some documentary files remain closed, but for this generation this study is definitive.

*University of Florida*

GEORGE OSBORN

THE KU KLUX KLAN IN AMERICAN POLITICS. By *Arnold S. Rice*. Introduction by *Harry Golden*. (Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press. 1962. Pp. vi, 150. \$3.25.) Rice's volume is a good first step toward a general evaluation of the twentieth-century Klan. He writes particularly well on its nature and sources, and his descriptions of the Klan in Georgia, Alabama, Texas, Arkansas, and Kentucky are good, as is the story of the 1924 political conventions. His treatment, however, is not sufficiently inclusive, and there are many errors. Rice misses the importance of the essential fraternal nature of the Klan and the degree to which it came close to taking its place within the lodge world of America. He avoids examining the role of clerical anti-Catholicism. In the 1920's the Klan was nationwide. Unfortunately Rice does not carry his detailed examination beyond the geographical limits of his doctoral dissertation on the "Southern Wing" of the Klan. Of the seven states with largest Klan membership, only Texas is covered. Within the South, the treatment of Louisiana, Mississippi, Virginia, and the Carolinas is inadequate. The Klan's national and state legislative efforts are omitted, and the degree of Klan violence is understated. After the 1920's, the book is best when describing the recurrence of old Klan connections in politics and in charting the tangled proliferation of Klans after World War II. It misses the role of the Klan in Georgia and Florida during the 1930's and fails to comment on the sudden availability of funds when the Klan struck out at union organizing drives. Changes in the Klan's issues, semantics, purposes, and causes in the 1950's and 1960's need closer study. James Vander Zanden's fine analysis would have been helpful. The selection of Kennedy's victory as a terminal date for Klan influence is indicative of the way in which the later Klan is still regarded through 1920 glasses. Despite such problems, however, Rice has made a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the Klan.

*University of Florida*

DAVID CHALMERS

DEMOCRATIC PARTY DISSENSION IN NORTH CAROLINA, 1928-1936. By *Elmer L. Puryear*. [The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science, Volume XLIV.] (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1962. Pp. vi, 251. \$2.50.) A term which can be easily misunderstood in the American political vocabulary is that of "the solid South." Although it has frequently been said that the solidity is more apparent than real and that differences are fought out in primaries rather than elections, comparatively few studies exist that bring out the extent to which dissension rather than unity actually prevailed in southern state politics. Elmer Puryear's *Democratic Party Dissension in North Carolina, 1928-1936*, first written as a doctoral dissertation at the University of North Carolina, makes the point clearly. The study begins when Senator F. M. Simmons helped turn North Carolina against Alfred E. Smith in the presidential election of 1928. It covers the legislative and electoral battles of Governors

O. Max Gardner and J. C. B. Ehringhaus, the gubernatorial election of Clyde Hoey, and the primary campaigns of Senators Josiah Bailey and Robert R. Reynolds. The period was indeed one of dissension. It saw the breakdown of the influence of Simmons, the rise to power of O. Max Gardner, and the development of an opposition to what has been called the Gardner machine. The principal issues involved were government finances, with particular attention to the sales tax, public education, and prohibition. Conflicts frequently grew out of differences between rural factions and those more sympathetic to business. Puryear argues, however, that by the end of the period the principal conflict was between a group, led by Gardner, who favored centralization and "saw a political machine as an implement of democracy," and the "insurgents" who considered a political machine undemocratic and who feared centralization of power. Puryear's study will be too detailed for some readers, and his style is at times involved. Such thorough and well-documented studies of local politics are essential, however, if national politics is to be understood. He tells the story of legislative battles well; he is less successful in explaining how the local organization worked. Was the Gardner "machine" anything more than the "friends" of Gardner and Ehringhaus working for political success? Perhaps if Puryear had had access to Gardner's papers, clearer answers to such questions might have been possible.

*Duke University*

RICHARD L. WATSON, JR.

THIRTY EXPLOSIVE YEARS IN LOS ANGELES COUNTY. By *John Anson Ford*. [Huntington Library Publications.] (San Marino, Calif.: the Library. 1961. Pp. xv, 232. \$6.00.) For twenty-four years John Anson Ford served Los Angeles County as a hard-working member of the Board of Supervisors, the powerful governing authority of a county that has more people than forty-three American states. For many years, too, he has been grand juror, Democratic party leader, and citizen active in all sorts of humanitarian projects. This account of thirty years reflects his intimate experience in county affairs. It is an unusual blend of history and autobiography, less personal than one would anticipate and achieving qualities of impartiality, balance, and breadth that make his clear judgments on county government unique among this kind of literature. In Los Angeles Ford is esteemed for his advocacy of government in the liberal tradition, and in his book this sympathy for the oppressed minority groups and the underprivileged is revealed in the kinds of legislation that he sponsored. He has also devoted his life to the study of governmental efficiency, human wants, and the betterment of the area's cultural and artistic resources. His sensitive regard for human beings is reflected in the book, in not concentrating upon the scandals of men, but in condemning the sources of graft, in not singling out unfaithful public servants, but in praising the records of the faithful. Readers will be disappointed, nonetheless, with the oblique way he discusses the scandals surrounding former Mayor Shaw's administration and the negotiations regarding Walter O'Malley's baseball park. Although he never allows himself any hostile comments on individuals, one gets an impression of the power structure in Los Angeles politics: the Chandler family is influential through its talented leaders and aggressive newspaper; the Chamber of Commerce is always active; and certain interests native to the county like outdoor athletics and motion pictures exercise disproportionate pressures on government. On the whole this is a valuable book, full of insights into the working of contemporary government and only limited by the author's unwillingness to arouse animosities.

*Whittier College*

JOHN A. SCHUTZ

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOCIAL SECURITY ACT: A MEMORANDUM ON THE HISTORY OF THE COMMITTEE ON ECONOMIC SECURITY AND

DRAFTING AND LEGISLATIVE HISTORY OF THE SOCIAL SECURITY ACT. By *Edwin E. Witte*. With a foreword by *Frances Perkins*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1962. Pp. xvi, 220. \$5.75.) This massive footnote to the history of a momentous piece of legislation is welcome. It was written in 1936 by the executive director of the cabinet committee responsible in 1934-1935 for formulating and steering to passage the Social Security Act. He depicts the organizational problems involved in setting up a technical board of federal departmental representatives, an advisory council of citizens holding a widely publicized conference, and a staff of experts recruited from public and private employment, all within the context of a final report deadline only four months after his own appointment. Conflicts and compromises at all levels both before and after the bill was submitted to Congress give depth to the picture of policy formation. The role generally attributed to Secretary Morgenthau and the Treasury in making the old-age insurance system self-supporting is downgraded by Witte, who presents the whole committee, including Morgenthau, as cooperating to carry out the personal wishes of President Roosevelt. Less controversial parts of the measure are also discussed in terms of their backing and policy significance. Those who have been following proposed amendments to both the insurance and assistance portions of the Social Security Act in recent years may be struck by the persistence of issues and by the elevation of "a junior member" of Witte's staff (Wilbur J. Cohen) to become a principal architect of the Kennedy administration proposals. Witte did not finish preparation for publication. Rough spots and repetitions were left without change. In general this is good, but it seems unfortunate that a few obvious mistakes were allowed to stand as surface blemishes on an account warranting intensive study.

*Washington University*

RALPH E. PUMPHREY

THE REVOLT OF THE CONSERVATIVES: A HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN LIBERTY LEAGUE, 1934-1940. By *George Wolfskill*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1962. Pp. x, 303. \$5.00.) Scholars have studied Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal carefully, but their research on the President's conservative opponents has been less thorough. Professor Wolfskill's excellent monograph helps fill that void. The American Liberty League "was the most articulate spokesman of American conservative political thought in the decade of the 1930's." It claimed to be nonpartisan, and some of its leaders (including Jouett Shouse and Al Smith) had been major powers in the Democratic party before Roosevelt won control. Nevertheless, more clearly than the Republican party, the Liberty League organized, financed, and spoke for the conservative opposition to Roosevelt's campaign for re-election in 1936. Though it appealed for the support of all classes, its principal backing came from men of great wealth, the Du Ponts being particularly conspicuous. In an earlier or later era this might have been an advantage, but not in the depression decade. With business and financial leadership temporarily discredited, the league's wealth was a political liability. In his perceptive and entertaining account Wolfskill traces the history of this pressure group from its origins in the Association against the Prohibition Amendment, through its hectic battle against Roosevelt in 1936, to its little-noticed death in 1940. His chapter on "That Man in the White House" is an unusually fine summary of conservative political thought. Wolfskill does not share the league's views, and his gentle humor perhaps inadvertently strikes heavy blows at the conservatives. His well-written book, nevertheless, is as balanced and as fair as one could reasonably expect from a nonbeliever. Two thoughts not explicitly emphasized by Wolfskill were suggested by his account. First, the league was overwhelmingly urban, not rural. Second, though the organization was concerned almost exclusively with domestic affairs, a substantial number of these vehement opponents of Roosevelt's domestic policies supported the



President's foreign policies later. The Liberty League's files eventually were destroyed; thus the author was compelled to rely more heavily on printed primary sources than he might have wished. But he made good use of the materials that were available to him.

*Iowa State University*

WAYNE S. COLE

BLACK NATIONALISM: A SEARCH FOR AN IDENTITY IN AMERICA. By *E. U. Essien-Udom*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1962. Pp. xiii, 367. \$6.95.) This book is a sociological treatise on the chiliastic and nationalistic movement known as the Black Muslims. It is more sympathetic toward the movement than the other study of it, C. Eric Lincoln's *Black Muslims in America* (1961). Mr. Essien-Udom's focus is psychological, and he discusses the movement in the context of the ethnic ambivalence toward race and nation shared by American Negroes generally. The appeal of the Black Muslims has been to the alienated and recently urbanized lower-class Negroes, who are rejected both by the white society and by the Negro middle and upper classes. The author views the Black Muslims as providing "a way out" for lower-class Negroes with upward mobility aspirations. The ethnic ambivalence of American Negroes and the upward aspirations of the movement's members lead to certain significant paradoxes. While rejecting the larger white society and attacking middle-class Negroes, the movement attempts to give its members a white American middle-class respectability and style of life. Because the larger white society despises the culture of sub-Saharan Africa, the Black Muslims, despite their talk of pride in the race's African past, construct for American Negroes a spurious North African and Asian historical tradition. And while the cult has an "eschatological" vision of the doom of the white man and the triumph of the black man, on a practical level its leaders are chiefly engaged in criticizing the way of life of the Negro lower-class subculture and in encouraging moral reform and economic accumulation. Though the section on the history of Negro nationalistic movements before World War I is weak, the book offers a profound insight into the thinking of lower-class Negroes and into the dynamics and significance of the Black Muslim movement.

*Morgan State College*

AUGUST MEIER

THE TOWN OF YORK, 1793-1815: A COLLECTION OF DOCUMENTS OF EARLY TORONTO. Edited with an introduction by *Edith G. Firth*. [Ontario Series, Volume V.] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press; Champlain Society for the Government of Ontario. 1962. Pp. xciv, 368. \$5.00.) York was chosen not as a capital but as a naval arsenal in 1793 and became the capital of Upper Canada in 1796. In the next twenty years the wisdom of this choice became apparent. This is skillfully documented in 358 selections which cover such subjects as establishment of the capital, defense, law and order, commercial development, communications, political ferment, religion and education, life in York, and York and the War of 1812. Illustrations are timely. The index is good. The sixty-five-page introduction is a good example of how local history can and should be written. Future historians of Toronto and Ontario must rely on this book.

*Albany, New York*

ALBERT B. COREY

THE PUBLIC PURSE: A STUDY IN CANADIAN DEMOCRACY. By *Norman Ward*. [Canadian Government Series, Number 11.] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1962. Pp. viii, 334. \$6.00.) Professor Ward has written a scholarly and illuminating history of the development of parliamentary control of public expenditure in Canada. By its very nature, the book is also a history of the elaboration of responsible government in Canada, and an admirable companion, in the administrative history of



Canada, to J. E. Hodgett's *Pioneer Public Service*. Any student of parliamentary, or even congressional, government will find much of interest in the study. After a survey of the development of financial control prior to confederation, Ward traces its development from 1867 to 1960 by studying two institutions. One is the Public Accounts Committee of the Canadian House of Commons, the other the office of auditor-general. His examination of both is laced with dry humor, rich in significant detail, and marked by a cool moderation of judgment. The author concludes that "the record of the Canadian House of Commons in the scrutiny of public expenditures is not good." The improved performance of the Public Accounts Committee since 1957 is by no means established. Any permanent advance in this field would involve a reversal of the trend by which, since confederation, the cabinet has come to dominate and even supersede the House of Commons in finance as in other fields. On the purely administrative side, however, the Financial Administration Act of 1957 summed up administrative developments in audit and control since 1867 and gave Canada, in the Treasury Board, the Auditor-General and the Comptroller of the Treasury, an efficient system of financial control that greatly facilitates parliamentary surveillance of public expenditures.

*University of Manitoba*

W. L. MORTON

CANADIAN POPULATION AND NORTHERN COLONIZATION: SYMPOSIUM PRESENTED TO THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF CANADA IN 1961. Edited by V. W. Bladen. [Royal Society of Canada, "Studia Varia" Series, Number 7.] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press for the Society. 1962. Pp. x, 158. \$4.50.) The dozen essays in this slender volume present a useful and informative summary of recent Canadian scholarship in the areas of demography and Arctic studies. The papers dealing with the problems of Canadian population are largely technical in nature and will be of slight interest to historians. Thomas Cameron contributes an introductory essay on "The Causes of the Population Increase." Nathan Keyfitz surveys "New Patterns in the Birth Rate," while Pierre Dagenais writes thoughtfully of "Le Problème de la population au Canada." Guy Rocher indicates some of the changes in the composition of the Canadian labor force in "La Main-d'oeuvre canadienne." Jacques Henripin raises some important questions about the future of French Canada in "Évolution de la composition ethnique et linguistique de la population canadienne." A. R. M. Lower, the only historian represented in this volume, provides a lively survey of "The Growth of Population in Canada." Far more provocative are the papers dealing with various aspects of the development of the Canadian north. W. K. Buck and J. F. Henderson stress "The Role of Mineral Resources in the Development and Colonization of Northern Canada." There is an interesting discussion by M. J. Dunbar of the Soviet proposal to build a dam across the Bering Strait in "The Living Resources of Northern Canada." E. W. Humphrys assesses the "Possibilities of Light and Heat from Atomic Energy and Other Sources," and G. M. Brown summarizes a number of cold acclimatization studies in "Man in the North." In a sober, concluding essay, Trevor Lloyd warns against the danger of a facile optimism about the future of the Canadian north. Lloyd foresees no large-scale movement of permanent population into the northern regions of Canada, nor does he expect a rapid development of the north based on the exploitation of mineral resources. He calls for extensive public expenditures on basic scientific research as a prerequisite to economic growth, and for systematic planning to ensure the orderly development of Canada's northern empire. Taken as a whole, these essays on the possibilities of northern colonization provide a useful corrective to the exuberant pronouncements so often made regarding the great Canadian north.

*University of Manitoba*

LAURENCE S. FALLIS, JR.

THE BROKEN SPEARS: THE AZTEC ACCOUNT OF THE CONQUEST OF MEXICO. Edited and with an introduction by *Miguel León-Portilla*. Translated from Nahuatl into Spanish by *Angel María Garibay K.* English translation by *Lysander Kemp*. (Boston: Beacon Press. 1962. Pp. xxxi, 168. \$5.00.) Aztec texts relating to the Spanish conquest of Mexico are well known to the coterie of Nahuatl scholars, but they have rarely been made accessible to a reading public. Fifteen selections from native literature are assembled in this anthology, which first appeared as *Visión de los vencidos* in Mexico in 1959 and is now translated into English by Lysander Kemp. The anthology includes passages from the main Indian, or in some instances mestizo, writers on the subject of conquest: Sahagún informants, Muñoz Camargo, Tezozomoc, Codex Ramírez, Codex Aubin, Ixtlilxochitl, the Manuscript of 1528, Chimalpahin, and the Cantares mexicanos. The selections range from the 1520's to the early seventeenth century, and all have been previously published. The present work cannot be used as a scholarly edition, for the passages are abridged and the translations are quite free. The objective is not to present a series of definitive texts but rather to demonstrate the existence of an important corpus and to evoke the psychology of the defeated Indian civilization. In this the collection is wholly successful. The firsthand reports by people suddenly exposed to horses, firearms, and Europeans have a universal interest, and some of the narrative accounts combine lyricism and graphic detail in an exceptionally revealing way. Introductory commentary by Miguel León-Portilla places the material in its historical context. There are explanatory notes, bibliography, and an index, with illustrations adapted from the pictorial codexes of the sixteenth century by Alberto Beltrán.

*State University of Iowa*

CHARLES GIBSON

A HISTORY OF CUBA AND ITS RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES. Volume I, 1492-1845: FROM THE CONQUEST OF CUBA TO LA ESCALERA. By *Philip S. Foner*. (New York: International Publishers. 1962. Pp. 255. \$3.75.) A history of Cuba written in English has been long overdue. Much research has been done since the publication of Johnson's five-volume work in 1920. In covering the period from 1790 to 1845, Dr. Foner has utilized some of this research (especially the work of Cuban historians) and material in both the United States and Cuban archives. One of the major weaknesses of the volume is the scanty coverage (three chapters) given to the first three centuries of Cuba's history. This partially reflects the current state of Cuban historiography, but material does exist for a more adequate presentation. Foner also revives the black legend with all of the righteous indignation of Las Casas, and with little consideration of the studies by Hanke, Leonard, and others. Foner concentrates most of his study on the interaction (after 1790) of Spanish colonial policy, the various movements for reform and independence, the conflict between groups in Cuba, and United States foreign policy. Slavery is stressed as the dominant factor in this interaction. The sections dealing with United States policy are supported by some archival research, and the works of Cuban poets and writers are skillfully woven into the narrative. The excessive emphasis given to the themes of conflict and slavery results in oversimplification. It is doubtful, for example, that Americans during this period could be classified as "progressives" or "conservatives" largely on the basis of their attitude toward Latin American independence, or that protection of slavery was the most important motivating factor underlying the Cuban policy of the United States. This is not a definitive study of Cuban history to 1845, but it is a useful synthesis of certain developments presented with the moral fervor of the reformer and the tone of an extreme Cuban nationalist.

*University of Rhode Island*

ROBERT FREEMAN SMITH

DOCUMENTOS PARA LA HISTORIA DE MÉXICO. Compiled and arranged by *José L. Franco*. [Publicaciones del Archivo Nacional de Cuba, Number 53.] (Havana: the Archivo. 1961. Pp. xcix, 498.) These documents seem to have been assembled for two purposes: to render the homage of revolutionary Cuba to revolutionary Mexico and to emphasize the role of the imperialist *yanqui* in each case. The lengthy introduction establishes the Mexican-Cuban relationship and rambles over many shopworn Mexican-United States conflicts. The necessary obeisances are made to Marx and Lenin. The body of 331 documents covers Cuban-Mexican business from 1767 to 1830 and deals mainly with Spanish defensive reorganization, the period of the Mexican Revolution, and abortive Spanish plans for the reconquest of Mexico. Around these themes the documents form a miscellany, the criteria for selection being obscure. Those dealing with plans for reconquest are especially interesting and informative. There are no index and only a rudimentary table of contents. An unusually long sheet of errata attests to the sloppiness of the editing.

*University of Houston*

JACK A. HADDICK

THE DESERT REVOLUTION: BAJA CALIFORNIA, 1911. By *Lowell L. Blaisdell*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1962. Pp. xiii, 268. \$6.00.) The ordinary student of the Mexican Revolution conceives it quite exclusively as a mainland movement, with Francisco Madero as its first leader. Basically this concept is correct, but there is an interesting side episode and an even more interesting leader who have largely escaped attention. The episode is the abortive "desert revolution" in northern Baja California. The leader was Ricardo Flores Magón, who has been called the "precursor" and who in the opinion of the author is the man and thinker without whom "to prepare the way, the deeds of Madero and Zapata, of Carranza and Villa, would not have been possible." Flores Magón was one of the leading exponents of anarchism in his time, long carried on a forceful attack on the Díaz regime, created the Liberal party, tried to inspire it by his voluminous writings, and put it in the field as a contender against the more popular Madero-led movement—this last unsuccessfully. The Liberals enjoyed a flurry of temporary power in Baja California in 1911, won one or two revolutionary "battles," and held the towns of Mexicali and Tijuana, but in the end failed and disappeared. Blaisdell digs into this story with thoroughness and objectivity. This task of scholarship was not exactly easy, for the records of the events were scattered, and what previous writing had been done was strongly partisan. The "desert revolution" was a curious series of events, involving a leader, Flores Magón, who never took the field, but who remained practically in hiding in Los Angeles, a number of field "generals," most of whom were not Mexicans, an army which was made up largely of non-Mexican adventurers and soldiers of fortune and was never properly equipped or adequately supplied, a number of Americans who were interested in the turn of events for very personal business reasons, the Mexican federals who were slow to take the initiative and not too effective when they did, and more complicating factors and personalities, not the least of which was the United States government and its neutrality legislation. Out of this maze the author has brought sense and understanding in a very excellent short study.

*St. Louis University*

JOHN FRANCIS BANNON

THE CUBAN INVASION: THE CHRONICLE OF A DISASTER. By *Karl E. Meyer* and *Tad Szulc*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1962. Pp. 160. \$3.95.) Karl E. Meyer interviewed Castro in the Sierra Maestra in 1958. Tad Szulc covered Cuba for six years, reported the invasion build-up of the Bay of Pigs, April 17-20, 1961, from Miami, and toured the battlefield with Castro after the fiasco. These newspaper corre-

spondents and authors of books on Latin America obviously could not name the Cubans and Americans whose confidential interviews constitute a principal source for this post-mortem of "the strangest tragedy of errors in which the United States was ever involved." They also relied on articles in American magazines shortly after the disaster and upon *Playa Girón*, a Castro version. The authors place the principal blame for the debacle on the CIA, especially on its refusal to work with the Cuban underground. This refusal rather than inadequate air power manned by Cuban rebels caused the disaster. Historians will find more valuable the authors' analysis of the dilemma that confronts the United States in its attempts to fulfill the principles of the Good Neighbor policy. Bryce Wood's *The Making of the Good Neighbor Policy* (1961) insisted that not only intervention but interference by the United States in the domestic affairs of Latin America violated this policy. On the other hand, as Meyer and Szulc point out, noninterference bolstered Batista's corrupt and ruthless dictatorship. Interference—in the form of Secretary of State Dulles' appearance at a reception given by the Cuban ambassador shortly before elections early in November 1958—did not prevent the overthrow of Batista two months later. The authors also point out the embarrassments that the Department of Justice and the Department of State suffered from the CIA's tendency to decide the foreign policy of the United States. Its decisions damaged the Good Neighbor policy and the Alliance for Progress, the latter of which, I might add, inherently violates the former.

Howard University

RAYFORD W. LOGAN

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\* \* \* \* *Historical News* \* \* \* \*

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

As has been announced, the Association meeting for 1962 will be held at the Conrad Hilton Hotel, Chicago, Illinois, December 28-30.

The Association has received a grant of ten thousand dollars from the Ford Foundation to enable the executive body of the International Committee of Historical Sciences to meet in Tokyo in the summer of 1964.

To enlarge its service for high school teachers of history, to make possible additional pamphlets, and to provide for continuation of activities after the foundation grant originating the Service Center for Teachers of History expired on June 30, 1962, the Association entered into an agreement with the Macmillan Company to publish and distribute pamphlets. Full editorial responsibility and authority will remain with the Association and the Service Center. The price of the thirty-two-page pamphlets will continue to be fifty cents; sixty-four-page pamphlets will cost seventy-five cents. Discounts will be 10 per cent on orders of ten dollars to forty-nine dollars, 15 per cent on orders of fifty dollars to ninety-nine dollars, and 20 per cent on orders of one hundred dollars or more. Orders should be sent to Macmillan at 60 Fifth Avenue, New York. Any money the Service Center accrues under this arrangement will be used to further the publication program.

LIBRARIES AND ARCHIVES

The Library of Congress has received from Dr. Werner von Braun approximately eight thousand of his papers consisting of correspondence (1952-1961), speeches, articles, and other supporting material. Much of the correspondence concerns his work on rocketry and on the space program in this country.

The distinguished Lithuanian-born sculptor, William Zorach, has presented his personal papers to the Library. Rich in autobiographical notes, correspondence, sketches, and drawings, the two thousand papers reflect the artist's work on such well-known pieces as his Franklin statue for the Post Office Building in Washington and the more recent American memorial to the six million Jews of Europe, which is on the banks of the Hudson River. Several thousand papers of sculptress Adelaide Johnson, a gift from Mrs. Philip Cristal of Manchester, New Hampshire, contain diaries for the years 1895-1926 and for a few subsequent years, correspondence, and supporting material such as photographs and pamphlets. The papers concern Miss Johnson's long-time interest in women's rights, in theosophy and astrol-

ogy, and in her professional career. The Library has also received a gift from Egon Hanfstaengl of Munich, Germany, of what appear to be the last surviving papers of his uncle, Emanuel Leutze, whose mural, "Westward the Course of Empire," is seen by most visitors to the Capitol. These papers consist of two notebooks of sketches and portraits, many of the latter showing Leutze's fellow travelers on the boat that brought him to America in 1859, and a few letters he received from General Winfield Scott Hancock and others.

The Library has also received significant additions to several groups of personal papers. Thomas Maitland Cleland, American typographer, printer, and illustrator, has given about two thousand additional papers consisting of his correspondence with fellow artists and original drawings and designs; the Carnegie Corporation has added nineteen letterbooks (1896-1909) and an extensive file of business and financial correspondence (ca. 1912-1918) to the papers of Andrew Carnegie; and the Woodrow Wilson collection has been enlarged by the addition of eight thousand pieces, mainly papers of the late Edith Bolling Wilson. These include the holograph and typescript copies of Mrs. Wilson's *My Memoir* and correspondence, chiefly letters she received, between 1900 and 1961.

Among recent National Archives accessions are records of two international bodies: the Far Eastern Commission, 1945-1951, and the Allied Council for Japan, 1946-1952. Records of the Geographical Surveys west of the one hundredth meridian, made under the direction of Captain George M. Wheeler, were received from the Stanford University libraries. Records relating to the building and operation of the Cumberland Road, 1810-1841, and a few other early records of the Office of the Chief of Engineers were received from the Library of Congress. Additional accessions include the general correspondence of the Interstate Commerce Commission, 1887-1906, documenting the commission's activities and containing information on the railroads, and more than 450,000 photographs made or collected by the Navy Photographic Center relating chiefly to the navy during the years 1920-1945, with some earlier material.

The National Archives has published three preliminary inventories of parts of its holdings: Number 136, *Records of United States and Mexican Claims Commissions*; Number 137, *Records of the President's Organization on Unemployment Relief*; and Number 138, *Records of the Military Government of Veracruz*.

Among microfilm publications recently completed by the National Archives are Letters of Application and Recommendation during the Administration of John Adams, 1797-1801 (3 rolls), and the 1961 volume (XXVI) of the Federal Register (6 rolls).

The Franklin D. Roosevelt Library has received the files of the office of William H. McReynolds, liaison officer for personnel management in the White House from 1939 to 1946, concerning his work with the Civil Service Commission, the Committee on Administrative Personnel, the Council of Personnel Administration, and a number of nongovernmental organizations concerned with personnel matters. The library also received additional papers, books, and pamphlets of the late John Ihlder, executive director of the National Capital Housing Authority from 1934 to 1952. Mrs. Roosevelt has given the library further installments of her papers, including her personal correspondence for 1960, drafts of her newspaper

column "My Day" for 1955-1956, drafts of her magazine feature "If You Ask Me" for 1953-1958, and a number of awards and academic citations she has received in recent years.

Additions to the holdings of the Harry S. Truman Library include papers of James E. Webb, Sumner Pike, and Raymond Foley. These papers will be open for research when their processing and review have been completed. The library's oral history program, under the direction of J. R. Fuchs, has involved background research and interviews with persons in greater Kansas City relative to the local administrative and political background of Mr. Truman's national career. Transcripts of interviews will be available for research after they have been edited and transcribed.

The Air Force Academy Library has received the personal papers (numbering more than 100,000 items) of General Laurence S. Kuter, commander in chief of the North American Air Defense Command.

The New-York Historical Society recently received more than 1,900 letters, most of them addressed to Aaron Burr from 1812 to 1836, bringing its collection of Burr papers to over 2,200 pieces.

The London Public Record Office is issuing a series of microreproductions of certain classes of original public records and lists to facilitate research. Orders can be placed and information can be secured from the British Information Services, 45 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, New York.

#### INTERNATIONAL HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

The seventh Anglo-American Conference of Historians met at the Institute of Historical Research, July 9-14, 1962, with 650 historians attending. The opening meeting was addressed by Carl Bridenbaugh, representing the American Historical Association, on the subject of "English Scholars and American History." Two general meetings were addressed by M. C. Knowles on "The Purpose and Scope of Academic History" and V. H. Galbraith on "Who Wrote Asser's *Life of Alfred?*" American and British historians gave papers at other meetings. Boyd Shafer, an ex-officio member of the Anglo-American Historical Committee, also represented the AHA. The committee for 1962-1963 includes: H. S. Commager, J. B. Connacher, R. Current, J. H. Franklin, G. Mattingly, W. H. Moomaw, E. D. Myers, C. Richardson, and Wayne Cole. A shorter conference will be held July 11-13, 1963. Additional information can be obtained from the Secretary, Institute of Historical Research, Senate House, London, W. C. 1.

The International Society for the History of Ideas, in cooperation with the American Council of Learned Societies and the Council on Higher Education in the American Republics, is planning a conference in Mexico City, November 22-24, 1962. This three-day conference will bring together a small group of scholars from North and Latin America to discuss "Ideas of Social Change since the American and French Revolutions." Information concerning the meeting can be

obtained from Aaron Noland, Secretary, Program Committee, Finley Center 137, City College, New York 31, New York.

### GRANTS, AWARDS, PRIZES

The last Foreign Area Training Fellowships to be awarded directly by the Ford Foundation included the following in history: Anthony T. Arlotto, Ralph A. Austen, Douglas J. Bennet, Jr., Victoria H. Bomba, Frederick P. Bowser III, Paul Call, Ralph C. Croizier, Warren K. Dean, George S. Elison, Ralph C. Elwood, Gennaro Falconeri, Daniel Field, Alan W. Fisher, Charles A. Frazee, Peter K. Frost, Noreen M. Gallagher, Leonard Gordon, Loren R. Graham, David Hamilton, Richard Hellie, Martha A. Helms, Philip Chung-Chi Huang, John F. Hutchinson, John W. Israel, David G. Johnson, George W. Johnson, Martin A. Klein, David I. Kopf, Dale T. LaBelle, Ira M. Lapidus, Ludwig Lauerhass, Jr., Charlton M. Lewis, Alan S. Lichtenstein, Allen B. Linden, William R. Louis, Marian E. McReynolds, George P. Majeska, James A. Malloy, Jr., Peter G. Marzahl, Ray A. Moore, Anthony G. Netting, William A. Oates, James B. Palais, Jaroslaw Pelenski, Thomas G. Pesek, Don C. Price, Kenneth B. Pyle, Alexander Rabinowitch, Paul L. Roley, John A. Rowe, Mary E. Schaeffer, Sharon L. Sievers, Marshall S. Shatz, John M. Smith, Jr., Kent C. Smith, William R. Svec, Maynard W. Swanson, Phillip L. Thompson, John J. Tepaske, Abraham L. Udovitch, Lyman P. Van Slyke, John O. Voll, Edgar B. Wickberg, Constance M. Wilson, Janet R. Wolf, Richard S. Wortman, and David K. Wyatt. The program will now be under the joint administration of the Social Science Research Council and the American Council of Learned Societies.

Those historians receiving Social Science Research Council grants are: *Research Training Fellowships*—Samuel E. Allen, Ray E. Cubberly, Gerald D. Feldman, Robert M. Fogelson, William W. Freehling, Marysa Gerassi, Donald E. Ginter, Patrick L. R. Higonnet, Michael B. Pulman, G. Michael Riley, Dorothy Ross, David Rothman, and Allan H. Spear. *Faculty Research Fellowships*—Charles A. Barker, Richard Glover, William H. Goetzmann, Bert J. Loewenberg, John T. Saywell, and Gerhard L. Weinberg. *Grants-in-Aid*—Eugene L. Asher, James J. Barnes, and Alan W. Brownsword. *Political Theory and Legal Philosophy Fellowships*—Francis Oakley. *Auxiliary Research Awards*—Albert Feuerwerker and Arno J. Mayer.

The American Council of Learned Societies has awarded Grants-in-Aid to the following historians: Dean Albertson, Ernest J. Burrus, S. J., John L. Clive, Robert A. East, Charles W. Hollister, Frank E. Manuel, Robert D. Meade, William J. Niven, Jr., Alexander M. Ospovat, Boyd C. Shafer, Philip J. Staudenraus, Gerald Strauss, Corinne C. Weston, and Gerald E. Wheeler.

The ACLS has recently initiated an International Fellowship program. It will begin in 1962-1963.

Awards for research in Asian Studies granted jointly by the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council and made possible by



the Ford Foundation were presented to Bernard S. Cohn, Albert M. Craig, Robert B. Crawford, Albert Feuerwerker, and Arthur E. Tiedemann.

A joint committee of the ACLS and the SSRC awarded nineteen grants for Slavic and East European Studies, including those to the following historians: Robert F. Byrnes, Michael Cherniavsky, Stephen A. Fischer-Galati, Georges V. Florovsky, Thomas T. Hammond, Richard A. Pierce, Gunther E. Rothenberg, and William B. Slottman.

Historians receiving Guggenheim fellowships for 1962 are Ford L. Battles, Knight Biggerstaff, Carl Bridenbaugh, Gerard E. Caspary, Stephen A. Fischer-Galati, Immanuel C. Y. Hsu, James E. King, Joseph R. Levenson, Forrest McDonald, Stanley G. Payne, Bradford Perkins, Merrill D. Peterson, Philip P. Poirier, Hugh F. Rankin, Norman R. Rich, Ellis Rivkin, Henry L. Roberts, Gunther E. Rothenberg, Theodore H. Von Laue, and Robert S. Woodbury.

Among scholars appointed as fellows of the Leo Baeck Institute are Felix Gilbert, N. N. Glatzer, Ernest Hamburger, Eric Kahler, Franz Kobler, Hans Kohn, Guy Stern, Selma Stern-Taeubler, and Bernard Weinryb. The board of directors will continue to appoint new fellows and to make fellowship grants in support of research and publication in the history of German-speaking Jewry in modern times.

The Society of American Historians, Inc., has awarded the second annual Allan Nevins Prize to John L. Thomas for his biography of William Lloyd Garrison.

Page Smith has been awarded the Kenneth Roberts Memorial Award for his two-volume biography, "John Adams."

The American Chemical Society's Division of the History of Chemistry presented its annual Dexter Award to Henry M. Leicester for his contributions to the history of chemistry.

Eighty-five John Hay Fellowships are available to public senior high school teachers for the year 1963-1964. Those receiving the awards will study in the humanities at the following universities: California, Chicago, Columbia, Harvard, Northwestern, or Yale. Interested teachers should get in touch with Dr. Charles R. Keller, John Hay Fellows Program, 9 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, New York.

The University of Delaware, in cooperation with the Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation, will award two Hagley Museum Fellowships for the academic years 1963-1965. Recipients of these grants take graduate work in history and related fields at the University of Delaware, spending half of each week during the academic year at the Hagley Museum, Wilmington, Delaware, where they receive training in museum work, and at the Eleutherian Mills Historical Library, where they conduct research. For further details, write the Chairman, Department of History, University of Delaware, Newark, Delaware.

## PUBLICATIONS

The United States Department of State and the Hoover Institution are publishing jointly "A Catalog of Files and Microfilms of the German Foreign Ministry Archives, 1920-1945." This three-volume catalogue will list all files from the political archives of the German Foreign Ministry that were seized by the American and British armies at the end of World War II, completing the work of the *Catalog of German Foreign Ministry Files and Microfilms, 1867-1920*, which was published by the American Historical Association in 1959.

I. A. Beliavskaia's article on the *American Historical Review* recently appeared in *Voprosy istorii*.<sup>\*</sup> Excerpts from this review appear below. The editor of the *AHR*, seeking scholarly accuracy, has supplied the comments in brackets.

The aim of the present review is to acquaint the Soviet reader with the activity of the leading American historical journal, the *American Historical Review*. It is published by the American Historical Association which has been in existence for more than seventy years and which carries out the function of a coordinating scholarly and publishing center in the field of historical sciences in the USA. Its members are largely teachers and professional workers in higher educational institutions and in scientific research agencies. The Association seeks to bring about a "correct and healthy" [The source of the quotation is not given.] (from the viewpoint of the ruling circles of the USA) [We are not aware of this.] study of history and of the auxiliary historical disciplines and carries out in the name of American historians relations with the historians of foreign countries. The budget of the Association is over one million dollars per year. [Would that this were true!] It is composed chiefly of "donations" of the largest monopolies of the USA and of governmental subsidies, as well as, to an insignificant degree, of receipts from membership fees. [The Association has received funds from foundations for historical studies and bibliographical work; its only governmental funds provide for the printing of the *Annual Report, Proceedings and Writings*; most of its funds come from membership dues.]

Since 1895 the American Historical Association has been publishing the *American Historical Review* four times a year, with a circulation of 14 to 16,000 [13,000] copies. . . .

The journal gives its major emphasis to the history of the USA [approximately one-half the space]. About half the articles included in it during the last two and a half years have been devoted to this field. In addition, works on various periods of the history of England and France [and other nations and areas] occupy a significant place. Less attention is given to other Western European countries [Germany?]. Only occasionally do articles appear in the pages of the journal on the history of the countries of Asia, Africa, and Eastern Europe. [True. Too few are submitted to the *Review*, which would like to consider double the number it examines.] The history of the countries of Latin America is completely untouched [three major articles in the last five years and many reviews, but still not enough]. The chronological framework of published materials is in general fairly wide. The journal includes articles both on the early medieval period and on the twentieth century. It is particularly willing, however, to publish work relating to

\* "Surveys of Journals." I. A. Beliavskaia, "The *American Historical Review*," *Voprosy istorii* (No. 1, 1962), 194-99. The article was translated for the *AHR* by Robert V. Allen, Area Specialist (USSR), Slavic and Central European Division, Library of Congress.

events of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries. [Not true. Most American historians, however, work in modern history.]

A substantial place in each number of the journal is given to reviews and notices. Under the rubric "Reviews of Books" (80–85 pages) are printed reviews of 1–2 pages in length on historical works appearing in the USA and in other countries. This section is divided into subsections on ancient and medieval history, on modern European history, on Far Eastern problems, on the history of America (USA, Canada, and Latin America). This is a special, so-called general subdivision, in which are published reviews of works of a generalizing nature. In addition to this the journal gives not a little space (on an average 50–60 pages) to shorter reviews . . . in which, however, the bourgeois conception of the reviewers finds expression. On an average, about half [or less] of the reviews are devoted to books of American historians. Reviews of works of historians of the USSR and of other socialist countries are rarely found. [Only because the USSR will not send books for review as do American and Western European publishers. A number of books from "socialist" countries are reviewed when they can be obtained. The editor of the *AHR* has been trying for seven years to get more books from the USSR with only fair results.]

As a general rule over 60 reviews and up to 100 notices are published in each issue. In addition, the journal publishes information about many historical books and periodical articles appearing recently in the USA, USSR, England, France, Latin America, and so forth. While noting the undoubted tendentiousness of the selection of books to be reviewed, it must be said that the journal reveals a certain efficiency and gives broad information to its readers about the historical literature appearing in the USA and Western European countries. The last 12–14 pages of each issue are devoted to professional news. This, in general, is the structure of the *American Historical Review*.

The journal follows a conservative inclination and expresses the reactionary line of the governing circles of the USA. In the majority of the works on the history of the USA attention is given to concrete, and often quite narrow, questions of internal political history. . . . [Citations within the articles disprove this.]

Characteristic of such works, as a rule, is a formal-juridical approach [We are not aware of this.] of the authors to the description of events and a striving to avoid the important social problems of the period under study. The socioeconomic aspects of the history of the USA are almost never treated in the pages of the *American Historical Review*. An exception to this is the article of Professor A. Link, "What Happened to the Progressive Movement in the 1920's" [LXIV (July 1959)]?

In the articles of a methodological character which appear frequently in the pages of the journal there are set forth, as a rule, reactionary conceptions of the history of the USA or of American social thought. A general trait of such work is a justification of the policies of the ruling classes of the USA. Authors of such works try to interpret in their own fashion the historical events both of the distant past and of more recent times. The appearance of such articles, in our opinion, can be explained by the tendency of a certain segment of American historians to review the history of the USA from a position which can only be called reactionary. As early as 1950, the then President of the American Historical Association, Professor S. E. Morison, called on American historians to write the history of the USA anew, as he expressed it, "from a position of healthy conservatism." This appeal found response among the more reactionary part of American historians. In the American historiography of those years there appeared a tendency that

received the appellation "new conservatism." Its supporters had as their goal the resurveying of American history from a viewpoint determined by the needs of imperialist monopolies and of the reactionary political course of the USA.

This tendency is essentially deeply reactionary. On a philosophical level it leads to a subjective-idealistic understanding of the historical process, finding expression in its American forms such as pragmatism, presentism, mystical idealism, and so forth. "In the sphere of politics the 'new conservatism' denies the elementary conceptions of democracy, affirming that the rule of a clique of the 'select' is necessary and inevitable, and that bureaucracy is an inseparable feature of any organization in society." A review of the articles on the history of the USA published in the journal permits the delineation of a number of general lines characteristic of contemporary American historiography. At the base of a majority of the articles there lie in one form or another propositions of the renowned theory of "American exceptionalism." Considerable attention is given to the "ennobling" of representatives of American capital and of its policies in the spirit of the Nevins school. These published materials also permit one to state that whenever the authors touch on problems of the foreign policy of the USA they generally justify American expansionism, often joining in support of official propagandistic formulas. . . .

The article of the Princeton professor, Arthur Link, reviews the causes for the decline in the 1920's of the so-called progressive movement. The author questions the hypothesis widely spread in American historical literature about the complete defeat in the 1920's of the "progressive" movement in connection with political reaction on one side and the improvement of economic conditions on the other. The article is interesting in that the author does not limit his analysis of events to the 1920's, but provides a wide description of the "progressive" movement in the USA which arose at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century, advancing in this process a number of interesting proposals. In this field, the author emphasizes, the "'progressive' movement never really existed as a recognizable organization with common goals and a political machinery geared to achieve them." It is impossible to agree fully with the last affirmation. In 1912 and 1924, whatever may have been the end of the Progressive party, it appeared on the political scene of the USA with its program and candidate in the presidential elections (in 1912, T. Roosevelt; in 1924, R. La Follette). Professor Link points out, among the factors in determining the failure of progressivism, the wide variety of its composition, the internal contradictions, the absence in its program of clearly defined goals and of leadership on a national scale. All these faults were, according to the author's opinion, innate in the "progressive" movement, not only at the dawn of its development, before the First World War, but also in the 1920's. However, as it seems to us, this is insufficient to determine the causes of the failure of the movement. The chief cause for this is bound up in the petty bourgeois character of the "progressive" movement in general, and of the La Follette movement of the 1920's in particular, and in the inability of the petty and middle bourgeoisie to lead a wide popular movement. On this point, the La Follette movement, though directed against evils perpetrated by the financial oligarchy and demanding definite democratic reforms, was by no means an anticapitalistic one.

Professor Link considers the presidency of Woodrow Wilson to mark the victory of the ideas of progressivism, which is in contradiction to reality. Wilson, who was the exponent of the views of the magnates of Wall Street, was a deeply conservative public figure. At the basis of his reformism, as at that of T. Roosevelt, lay the conviction of the necessity of preservation of the existing order of things, the preservation and strengthening of the power of large monopolistic groups.

Witness is borne to this, for example, by his carrying into effect such measures as the Federal Reserve Act of 1913. It is impossible to agree with A. Link's affirmation that the history of the "progressive" movement somehow affirms once again the impossibility of the existence of a third party in the USA and that an effective "progressive" movement is possible only within "the framework of the old parties"—Republican and Democratic. In essence, Professor Link stands on the position of the well-known "theory" of "American exceptionalism" and views as unshakable the two-party system in the USA, which is a support for the political overlordship of large capital, against whom the "progressive" movement was directed. . . .

The journal has printed two major works on foreign policy in the past two years. Of these, particular attention is drawn to the article of Professor F. Greene ["The Military View of American National Policy, 1904–1940," *AHR*, LXVI (Jan. 1961)], in which the viewpoint of military circles in the USA with regard to foreign policy is reviewed. The chronological framework of the article is 1904–1940. The basic thesis is that in this period the War and Navy Departments supposedly received no firm direction from the White House and State Department concerning the general goals of the national policy of the USA. F. Greene insists on the existence, in the USA in those years, of "administrative isolation," that is, of the absence of ties between the military command and the "civilian political administrators." This circumstance, in the opinion of F. Greene, obliged the War and Navy administrators to analyze the course of United States' foreign policy in order to plan the activity of the army and navy. In this process the leaders of the army and navy, the author writes, based their actions on the highest interests of the national policy of the USA. The author notes a disagreement between the army and the navy. "Isolationist tendencies" were supposedly more widespread among the army. As a whole, he appears as a well-intentioned "commentator" on the position of military circles in the USA, agreeing with them on the basic elements of analysis of the foreign policy of the USA. . . .

First of all, doubt is raised concerning the reference of the author to the absence in the USA of ties between the government and the armed forces. Was there really such a situation that the White House and the State Department refrained from guiding the activity of the army and fleet? Facts prove the opposite. It is well known that the public leaders of the USA who were in power at the beginning of the twentieth century, basing their actions on the goals of the imperialist policy of the USA, gave significance to the strengthening of the army and expansion of the fleet. The growth of imperialism has always and everywhere been accompanied by a rise of militarism and navalism, and the history of the United States does not represent an exception on this point. In expenditures on naval construction the United States during the period 1900–1915 rose to second place, overtaking even Germany. American naval experts who were, by the way, drawn into work in the committees of Congress, declared that the United States should be equal to England in naval armaments. Participation in the First World War aided the United States in overtaking England in naval armaments, which was confirmed by the international treaty at the Washington Conference of 1921–1922. All these processes were strengthened still more after the Second World War, when representatives of the military departments began to play a more important role in determination of the foreign policy of the USA. All this speaks against the author's thesis concerning the absence of ties between the government and military circles. Among other facts, as early as 1903 the government set up a special organization for military planning—the Joint Army-Navy Board—which existed until the Second World War, as F. Greene himself writes. . . .

Before the First World War the United States loudly declared its wish not to

enter into any supposedly "entangling," doubtful alliances. However in 1917 it did not hesitate to join the *Entente* and declare war on Germany. This was done not for "making the world safe for democracy," as American imperialists, headed by President Wilson, loudly proclaimed. The interests of American monopolistic capital demanded the suppression of German imperialism which was advancing too rapidly and was too openly stretching out its hands to the rich markets of the Western Hemisphere and of the Far East. The article of F. Greene is silent about this. There is also silence [see George F. Kennan, "Soviet Historiography and America's Role in the Intervention," *AHR*, LXV (Jan. 1960)] about the active participation of the USA in the military intervention in Soviet Russia as well as about the development of aggression by the USA on a "global" scale after the First World War, which was closely connected with its strivings toward world overlordship.

The articles which we have surveyed give some idea of the general tendencies and outlook of the journal in recent years.

#### OTHER HISTORICAL NEWS

The activities of the Max Weber Centennial Commission will culminate in a symposium scheduled for April 1964. Those who are interested in aiding the commission can get in touch with the Max Weber Centennial Commission, 716 Railway Exchange Building, 706 Grand Avenue, Kansas City 6, Missouri.

#### RECENT DEATHS

William Thomas Utter, for more than thirty years professor and long-time head of the department of history and government at Denison University, died January 12, 1962. Born in Riverside, California, February 2, 1895, he held degrees from Missouri State Teachers' College and the University of Chicago, having received his Ph.D. degree at Chicago in 1929. He taught at Ohio State University, the University of Chattanooga, and Eureka College before going to Denison in 1929. He was the author of an essay on Vernon Louis Parrington in *Marcus W. Jernegan Essays in American Historiography* (1937); of *The Frontier State, 1803-1825* (1942), Volume II in the *History of the State of Ohio*, and of other works. Genial and public-spirited, he won the affectionate admiration of students, colleagues, and fellow townsmen.

W. W. Tinsley of Arizona State College died April 6.

Solon Justus Buck, known to his family and friends as Steve, died in Washington, D. C., May 25, at the age of seventy-eight. He had been in poor health for several years. A fall and a broken hip brought a sudden release. Having graduated from the University of Wisconsin where he worked his way through college, Mr. Buck took his M.A. degree at Wisconsin and followed Frederick Jackson Turner to Harvard where he received his Ph.D. in 1911 for a study of the granger movement, which still remains the classic treatment of that subject. His first appointment was at Indiana University. He then transferred to Illinois. In 1914 he was called to the University of Minnesota with a view to making him the Secretary of the Minnesota State Society. He held this position, together with a professorship at



the university, until 1931. At Minnesota he met and married Elizabeth Hawthorne, an instructor in English who later received an honorary doctorate from her own alma mater, William Smith-Hobart. Through the efforts of Mr. Buck the Minnesota Historical Society was lifted from the basement of the state capitol to a beautiful new building. County historical societies were organized and a quarterly periodical started. He accepted later the call to similar responsibilities at the University of Pittsburgh. When the National Archives was organized, he became Assistant Director, and when R. D. W. Connor retired, Buck succeeded him. In all these responsibilities Buck showed his ability as an organizer and exacting administrator. He was a perfectionist with an infinite mastery of detail. He held all his associates to his own high standards of perfection. He was merciless on incompetents, but held the respect of those who worked with him. He was active in developing archival economy in the United States and lectured on the subject at Columbia University and attended the conferences in Europe on the subject. Despite his administrative duties he continued to publish not only articles but several volumes, among them *The Agrarian Crusade* and (with Elizabeth) *The Planting of Civilization in Western Pennsylvania*.

For the American Historical Association he assumed the chairmanship of a committee on endowment, but the crash of 1929 brought the campaign to an end. He served as Treasurer of the Association from 1937 to 1957. The University of Minnesota conferred on him the honorary degree of LL.D. in 1954. His friends contributed generously to a fund for an oil painting of him which hangs in the National Archives.

Walter Phelps Hall, Dodge Professor of History, Emeritus, at Princeton University, died May 3. Born in 1884, he graduated from Yale in 1906 and received his Ph.D. from Columbia in 1912. After teaching two years at Amherst, Hall went to Princeton in 1913 and taught there until his retirement in 1952. He became a full professor in 1928 and was named Dodge Professor in 1933. He was a famous teacher, and his students acquired from him an abiding love of history. For many years his survey of modern European history was voted both the best and the most difficult course by undergraduates. On his retirement his former students created the Walter Hall Fund to enable him to give annual lectures as long as he desired. He wrote widely on English and nineteenth- and twentieth-century history. Among his principal publications were *British Radicalism 1791-97*, *Empire to Commonwealth*, *Readings in 19th Century Thought* (with E. A. Beller), *Mr. Gladstone*, *History of England and the British Empire* (with R. G. Albion), *The Course of Europe since Waterloo* (with W. S. Davis), *World Wars and Revolutions*, and *Iron out of Calvary*, a history of the Second World War.

## COMMUNICATIONS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

In my book *Japan Subdued: The Atomic Bomb and the End of the War in the Pacific*, I indicated the belief that the sole and final positive directive to drop the atomic bomb on Hiroshima probably was sent from Washington to General Carl

A. Spaatz, commanding general of the US Army Strategic Air Forces, by General Thomas T. Handy, the acting Chief of Staff, on July 25, 1945.

I reached this provisional conclusion despite the fact that Professors Craven and Cate in their official history, *Army Air Forces in World War II*, IV, pages 404-415, stated that the "final decision would seem to have been made on one of those days [August 2 or 3]" by President Truman when he was on board the USS *Augusta* returning from Potsdam and despite the reproduction in that book of a letter from the former President to the authors stating that "I ordered atomic bombs dropped on the two cities named on the way back from Potsdam, when we were in the middle of the Atlantic Ocean."

My conclusion or inference was influenced by several things: the text of the order of July 25, which made any positive confirmatory order unnecessary; former President Truman's statement in his book *Year of Decisions*, page 421, that "I also instructed Stimson that the [July 25th] order would stand unless I notified him that the Japanese reply to our [Potsdam] ultimatum was acceptable"; my failure to find any trace or mention of a subsequent order in the Manhattan Project (the atomic bomb) file, which presumably contained all instructions sent to Guam or Tinian, or in General Spaatz's papers (as I was informed by Craven), or in the diary kept by Secretary of War Stimson; the statement made to me by General Leslie R. Groves, commanding general, Manhattan Project, that to the best of his knowledge no such later order was sent, an opinion in consonance with the account of the subject in his book *Now It Can Be Told*.

Admiral Samuel E. Morison, in his review of my book, in the *American Historical Review* (LXVII [Oct. 1961], 89) notes that I question a statement made by him in the *Atlantic Monthly* (CVI [Oct. 1960]) and in the last volume of his history of United States Naval Operations in World War II in which he quoted Craven and Cates's reference to a later order. After so doing, he wrote in his review of my book, "This is one of the important things that should be cleared up while the participants are still alive. . . ."

I have tried to do so, and I wish to report the result thus far. I sent a comprehensive and, I believe, clear explanation of the question to President Truman and requested him to search his memory again and have someone go through his records and see what they tell. To this letter he has not replied, although he had previously answered former inquiries. At my request the Office of Naval History searched all the pertinent files of communications (including those of the USS *Augusta*), and the assistant director informed me that no such order was found, but added that the available files may not be complete.

The effort thus seems to confirm the judgment in my book that no second or final "execute" order was sent. My present surmise is that President Truman had in mind the decision reached by him on the *Augusta* not to cancel the original directive, thus avoiding the necessity of breaking radio silence.

York, Maine

HERBERT FEIS

#### TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Being generally unimpressed by the amount of light generated by exchanges between authors and reviewers, I am reluctant to comment on Professor Broadus Mitchell's consideration of *The Contours of American History* (AHR, LXVII [Apr. 1962], 735). The more so because of my respect for his own work, and because, unlike some other reviewers of the book, he reveals in an urbane tone a clear understanding of the broad themes in the volume.

For that matter, and as Mitchell suggests, I may be wrong about the essential mercantilism of the early national period. But the examples he offers in support of his criticism on that issue, and of my research, do not happen to bear him out.

In connection with my reference to William Smith (*Contours*, p. 170), Mitchell says flatly that I have "the wrong man with the wrong politics, and from the wrong state." He assumes, apparently, that I was writing about Samuel Smith and that I thereby compounded error. On that basis he concludes that I did not examine the original sources.

Mitchell is wrong on three counts. I do have the right William Smith with the right politics. I did consult the primary sources. And he is mistaken about Samuel Smith. He is correct in one particular: I did err in placing William Smith in Maryland rather than South Carolina. The first point can be verified by checking the remarks on American manufacturing that I attribute to William Smith. They will be found exactly where I found them—in his speech reported in the *Annals of Congress*, IV, page 203. On this basis alone, therefore, the slip involving place names loses any substantive significance. My use of the quotation also establishes that I consulted the primary sources. Mitchell next remarks that "Hamilton did have help from Marylanders . . . but not from Samuel Smith. . . ." His error on this point can be established by referring to the *Annals*, IV, pages 247–248. Samuel Smith's speech against Madison's resolutions, and therefore in support of Hamilton, includes this passage: "at first hearing the resolution, he had been rather prejudiced in their favor. . . . He since opposed them, from a conviction that they were injudicious." Actually, my slip in place names was the result of having studied the primary sources with some care. Originally projected as a two-volume study, the first draft of my manuscript contained a long review and analysis of the prolonged debate over Madison's resolutions. I used Samuel Smith's speeches to show that some men who generally agreed with Madison chose to oppose his resolutions because they feared a war with Britain, and for other tactical reasons. The long discussion of the debate was deleted in a drastic cutting of the first draft. Either in indicating those changes, or in typing the revision, William Smith ended in the wrong state.

Lest my remarks be misunderstood, let me make it clear that I do not think my correction of Mitchell's mistakes serves to settle the issue of mercantilism any more than I think his comments decide the question. That problem involves evaluating a broad interpretation, and that simply cannot be done in a short review. I would hope, however, that my comments establish the fact that I did consult the primary sources.

University of Wisconsin

WILLIAM APPLEMAN WILLIAMS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

May I be permitted to make a few observations concerning Mr. Bradford Perkins' harsh review of my dissertation, *La France, les États-Unis et la guerre de course (1797–1815)* (*AHR*, LXVII [Apr. 1962], 756)?

This work was in no way intended to be "a perceptive study of Franco-American relations." It had a much more limited goal: the study of American prizes and prisoners in France and in French territories for the period indicated in the title. I had the rare good fortune of having access to archives hitherto virtually untouched, and I felt that the best service I could render to other researchers was to stay as close as possible to the manuscript sources in an attempt to portray how the system really worked. Before more general histories of the type Perkins

apparently expected to find can be written, detailed studies such as mine would appear to be necessary so as to furnish a documentary foundation for works of both synthesis and analysis. Otherwise they risk being works of literary creation rather than history.

I was of course well aware of the fact that Paris and Geneva libraries do not possess all recent works in American history. In spite of that, however, I chose to use my time for research in primary sources during my trips to the United States, and I certainly do not regret that choice. I also made a great effort to follow recent publications in the United States, but I had to rely mainly on advice from friends. Naturally, if I had been living in the United States, my American sources would have been complete, but I would not have had any of the French sources on which I worked for ten years and which, I feel sure, are of interest to American historians. In addition to material from American sources, I used at considerable length the reports of French diplomatic personnel in the United States, not because I personally endorse all the views and interpretations of their authors but because I felt it was interesting to know what the French envoys were writing home.

Finally, the term "guerre de course" was probably not very well understood by the reviewer. It is not limited to "the controversy over ocean commerce" as his sentence would seem to imply. The term as such is difficult to translate directly; "privateering" is, I believe, the closest equivalent, and a study of privateering is not an economic history of maritime commerce.

I have asked Perkins if he would kindly cite the errors that he mentions in his review, and I shall of course correct them if necessary. This interests me all the more that to date no other reviewer has pointed out errors. In fact, my book has recently been awarded the *Grand Prix de l'Académie de Marine* for 1962.

Paris, France

ULANE BONNEL

#### TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

On reading Mme. Bonnel's letter and rereading her book I find nothing to retract in the original review. Had I had more space I would, in that review, have extended the comment on the broad research she has done in French archives, research which led to the amassing of quantities of facts. May I answer her criticisms in the same order in which she has made them?

Neither Mme. Bonnel's title nor the text of the book indicate that she intended to study American prizes and prisoners in France to the exclusion of all else. Indeed, a large proportion of the book is devoted to other subjects.

While I fail to see much evidence of the use of primary sources examined during trips to the United States, it is not this omission that most troubles me. Mme. Bonnel appears unacquainted with standard secondary literature, including among others Brant, DeConde, Freeman (Carroll and Ashworth), Kurtz, and Melvin, as well as the published writings of American statesmen.

I recognize that a history of the "guerre de course" does not mean "an economic history of maritime commerce." I did not suggest that she had attempted the latter.

Finally, may I say that I have responded to Mme. Bonnel's invitation by forwarding a list of some three dozen errors encountered in the first reading of her book. Among the more obvious are the placing of a presidential election in 1799, ascribing to the Senate the rejection of the Monroe-Pinkney treaty, and describing Joel Barlow as a Federalist.

University of Michigan

BRADFORD PERKINS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Robert Koehl made several critical remarks concerning my book *Secret Nazi Plans for Eastern Europe: A Study of Lebensraum Policies* (AHR, LXVII [Apr. 1962], 785). Since some of them completely missed the point and others had a tendency to confuse the issue, I would like to comment on some of his observations.

Koehl insists that in dealing with Nazi *Lebensraum* policies in Eastern Europe I had omitted the Balkans in general, and the Slovenes in particular. This criticism is strange if we consider that the Balkans were neither designated as Eastern Europe until the establishment of the iron curtain, nor were they regarded by the Nazis as their *Lebensraum*. It is true that part of Slovenia was incorporated in the Third Reich, but so was Alsace-Lorraine, taken from France. In both cases we had to do with territories far apart from the contiguous bloc of countries to which the Nazis referred as their Eastern European *Lebensraum*.

I share Koehl's moral indignation about "the mass of evil perpetrated by the Nazis," but I do not agree with the generalization that in pursuit of their plans the Nazis were only "irrational blunderers." Koehl fails to distinguish between the rationality of ideological objectives and the rationality of methods for the achievement of an objective. Nazi leaders certainly committed many blunders in their design for the conquest of Europe, but they also achieved some striking "triumphs." Munich, the nonaggression pact with the Soviet Union, and the almost bloodless seizure of Denmark and Norway were hardly the results of irrational impulse.

In the same sense, Koehl greatly oversimplifies in referring to Himmler as a failure. Himmler was certainly a naïve dilettante as a military leader, but this was not his most important function. Could we apply the same label to Himmler as chief of the Nazi police, and as Hitler's main deputy for the *Lebensraum* policy? Not unless we are bold enough to assert that such preparatory *Lebensraum* measures as the annihilation of several million Jews, the destruction of the Polish intelligentsia, the decimation of the Soviet pw's, the deportation of millions of Slavs, and the settlement of hundreds of thousands of ethnic Germans were inefficient or contrary to Hitler's objectives and directives in Eastern Europe.

Koehl also tries to imply that Stalin's liquidation of enemies was "more rational" than that of Hitler. It may be argued how much more rationality there was in the "Big Purge" (1936-1938), the massacre of Polish officers in Katyn, in the deportation of the Crimean Tartars than in similar Nazi crimes. Koehl's criticism conveys an impression that the Nazi misdeeds were nothing but the chaotic and emotional blood orgies of "fools and blunderers." Nothing could be farther from the truth. Nazi *Lebensraum* measures are an example of the most cold-blooded and systematic mass killing and mass deportation in human history.

Central Michigan University

IHOR KAMENETSKY

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

It is unfortunate that Dr. Kamenetsky chose a rather polemical style in his response to my review of his book because we are in entire agreement about the need for balance and temperance in the study of totalitarianism. I particularly like the concept of the coexistence of rational and irrational elements in both Communism and Nazism. It is equally dangerous to overestimate the rationality of the Communists and to underestimate that of non-Communist totalitarians. I am sorry if I confused the issue or obscured Kamenetsky's point when I stressed the danger of using the terms "blue print" and "master plan" to refer to proposals and oppor-

tunistic decisions. I did not say anything about Stalin's liquidation of his enemies or that Himmler was a failure. I think it is important to distinguish more carefully between rational methods of execution and intelligent and effective planning than Kamenetsky did, and his allegation that the "Soviets never tried to convert to Communism such class enemies as capitalists, kulaks, clergy and other hostile elements" (p. 180) illustrates the author's preference for sweeping generalization. The Slovenes—and indeed all the Balkan peoples—played such a central role in the German plans and projects of the thirties and especially in the war years that it never occurred to me that the Balkans could be excluded from a discussion of Nazi plans for Eastern Europe. (See, for example, the National Archives, *Guides to German Records Microfilmed at Alexandria, Va.*, Nos. 2, 6, 16, 32, and 33, listing folders of prewar and wartime Nazi agencies on Slovenia, Slovakia, Hungary, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Serbia, Rumania, and Bulgaria.) Interest in these areas rose and fell, in keeping with the intrinsic opportunism of Hitler's foreign policy. There never was a *Lebensraum* policy, a "grand design scheduled for the postwar period" (p. 49), or a Nazi ideology from which Nazi crimes can be logically derived.

University of Nebraska

ROBERT KOEHL

#### EDITOR'S NOTE

Because of the demand for more articles and for longer book reviews and because of space limitations, the Board of Editors has decided to institute certain minor changes in the allocation of space in the *Review*. With this issue the "Personals" section is being discontinued on an experimental basis, with the hope that in the future other provisions can be made for listing staff changes. The "Lists of Articles" will be slightly shortened and limited to articles on topics of national or international interest or historiographical importance. The account of the Annual Meeting, a regular feature of the April issue, will be shortened, as a full account will be published in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, available to members.



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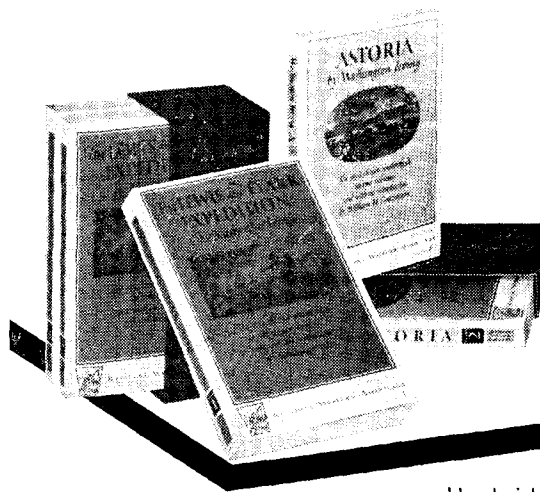
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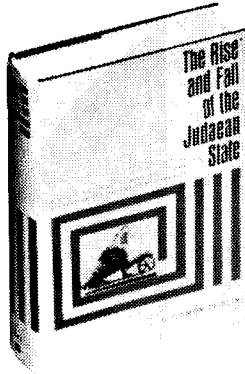
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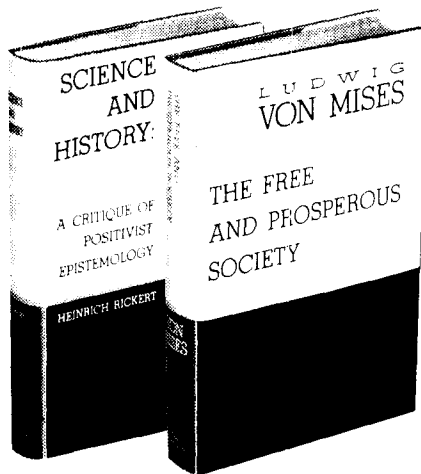
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